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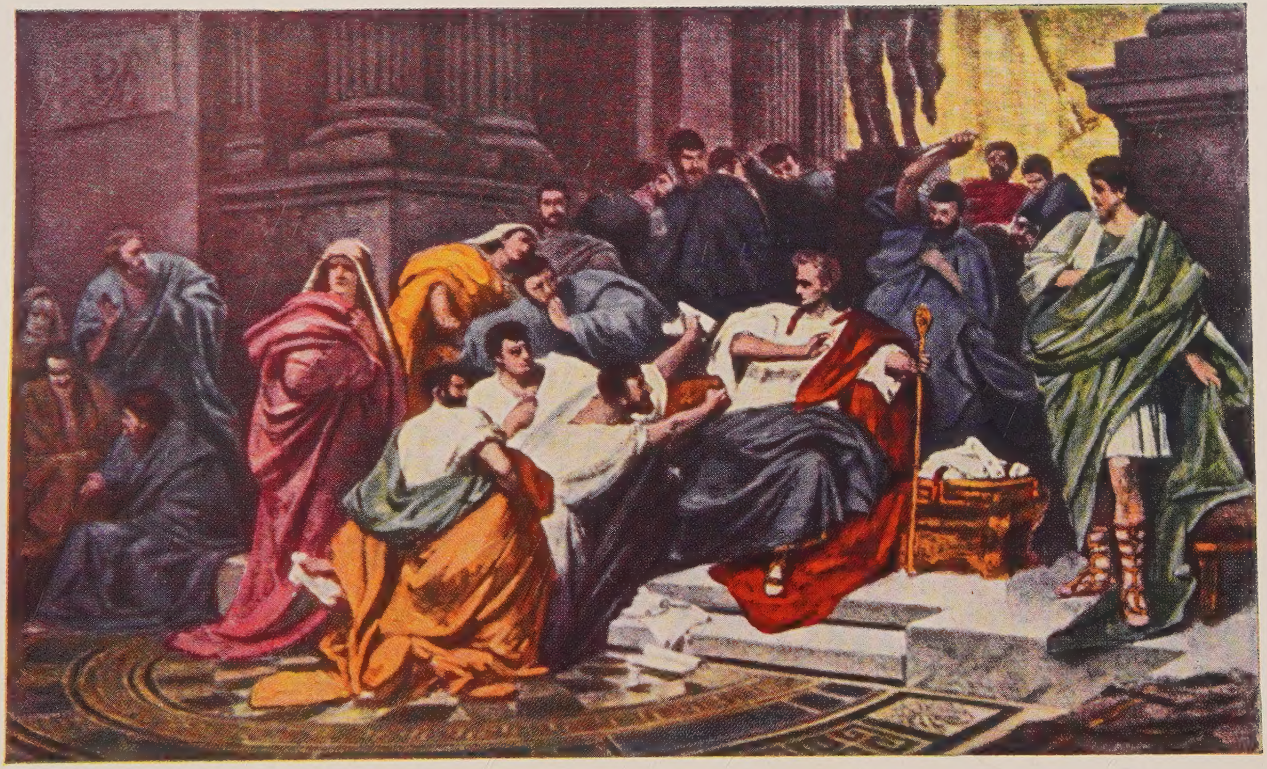

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THE HISTORY OF NATIONS

HENRY CABOT LODGE, Ph. D., LL. D. • EDITOR-IN-CHIEF

ITALY

INCLUDING MERIVALE'S ROME 44 B. C.-476 A. D.

EDITED BY

J. HIGGINSON CABOT, Ph. D.

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY
WELLESLEY COLLEGE

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NOTE

The editors of "The History of Nations" concluded their work with the chronicling of events to October, 1905, and all additions thereafter, bringing the histories to date, have been supplied by the publishers.

PREFACE

This volume aims to provide for English-speaking readers a connected account of Italian history, convenient in form and accurate in contents, covering the period from 44 B. C. to the present day. The vast majority of people have neither time nor inclination to study the many separate volumes dealing with parts of this long period, and yet would like to have some knowledge of it. It is believed that this single book, which contains the essence of the best that has been written on Italian history, will supply a long-felt want. The editor's purpose, then, is to give a résumé of this history, based on recognized authorities and diligently corrected and brought up to date by comparison with the latest and best writers. For the Roman Empire Merivale's "History of Rome" has been the foundation. It is unnecessary to comment on the value of Merivale's work, which is everywhere regarded as a standard. For Italian history since 476 A. D., Bosco's "Italian History" has been the foundation. It is one of the most satisfactory digests of the very complicated history of the peninsula during the centuries of disunion down to the present time. It has passed through several Italian editions, being considered in Italy a standard authority. Yet being a digest only, it compressed unduly the medieval period,—which is one of the most fascinating in all Italian history,—and so recourse has been made here to the excellent chapters by Hallam on "Italy in the Middle Ages," from his famous volume on the history of medieval Europe. Throughout, quotations from standard authorities have been freely made, which are acknowledged in foot-notes, and will suggest to the reader further sources than those given in the bibliography. Finally, the chapter on the Renaissance and the chapter on contemporary Italy have been written specially for this volume. A bibliography is appended, and while of course making no pretense to be anything but a bare outline, it will serve to show the way to those who wish to study more in detail the different periods.

J. Higginson Cabot, 2nd

Wellesley College

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PART I

THE ROMAN EMPIRE. 44 B. C.-476 A. D.

HISTORY OF ITALY

Chapter I

THE DEATH OF CÆSAR. 44 B.C.

CÆSAR'S victory at Pharsalia in 48 B. C. virtually brought the Roman Republic to an end, though in so far as an exact date can be given for this event 31 B. C. is more usually chosen. Cæsar "seems to have seen clearly that any government which would give order and prosperity to the Roman world must now be a monarchy. In this he was quite right."[1] Hence he had himself proclaimed dictator for life and retained the name and powers of the "Imperator," as well as the tribunician power. It may be said, although with exceptions, that Roman conquest ceased with the Republic. The work of the Empire, in which it was successful, was to transform the peoples of the West into one great Latin nation and to improve Roman laws and institutions.

The destined heir of Cæsar's imperium was already in the camp at Apollonia taking lessons in arts and arms under the ablest teachers. Caius Octavius, the son of Cæsar's sister's daughter. now in his nineteenth year, though delicate in health, was a youth of high promise. Cæsar had shown him much favor, had advanced his family from the plebeian to the patrician class, and had allowed it to be understood that he purposed to adopt his great-nephew as his son, and to bequeath to him his patrimony and the dignities which the Senate had declared hereditary in his family. The idea of a dynasty and of the hereditary succession of their rulers was unfamiliar to the republican Romans, but it began now to be whispered, both among his friends and his foes, that Cæsar would like to be hailed as king. Two or three attempts were made to give the people an opportunity of adopting the suggestion spontaneously; but these were not responded to, and Cæsar cautiously pretended to deprecate such an honor. At length, on February 15, the day of the Lupercalia, a more determined effort was made to get the title conferred on him by acclamation. Cæsar presided over the festival, seated on his gilded chair. The consul Antonius, who was taking a prominent part in the ceremonies, approached the dictator with a diadem, and offered it to him as the gift of the Roman people. Some faint applause was heard, but when Cæsar put the tempting circlet from him, a loud burst of genuine cheering rent the air. On the diadem being again offered, Cæsar exclaimed, "I am not king; the only king of the Romans is Jupiter," and he ordered the diadem to be suspended in the Capitol. "Few men have had their elasticity so put to the proof as Cæsar—the sole creative genius produced by Rome, and the last produced by the ancient world, which accordingly moved on in the path that he had marked out for it until its sun went down."[2]

---

[1] G. B. Adams, "European History," p. 96

The dictator's prudence had baffled any attempt to excite public feeling against him; yet among many of the nobles a bitter hostility was aroused by the bare thought that any man should presume to lord it over them as a king. A plot was formed for his destruction by sixty or eighty conspirators, among whom were some who professed the warmest devotion to him. Decimus Brutus had received the government of the Cisalpine from him. Trebonius, Casca, Cimber, and others had received various marks of his favor. C. Cassius, who was most likely the author of the plot, had recently been appointed prætor. He was a vain, vindictive, jealous man, whose pale looks and acrid humor had not escaped Cæsar's watchful observation.

The conspirators required the charm of a popular name to sanction their projected tyrannicide. M. Junius Brutus, the nephew of Cato, pretended to trace his descent from a third son of that founder of the Republic who had not scrupled to take the life of his own two eldest sons. Brutus probably represented an honest desire to restore the Republic, despite the weakness of his character. His mother was of the family of Ahala, the slayer of Spurius Mælius. His wife, Porcia, was the daughter of Cato, a woman of masculine spirit, firm and severe like her father. Brutus himself was a weak, vain, unstable man, who affected the character of a philosopher, yet clutched with sordid, even iniquitous, greed at the emoluments of public life. Of all the Pompeians, he had been the last to join, the earliest to desert, the banner of the Republic. After Pharsalia, he successfully courted the favor of Cæsar, who raised him to an eminence which pleased and dazzled him. The weakness of his character may be estimated from the means employed to work upon him. A paper affixed to the statue of the ancient Brutus with the words, "Would thou wert now alive!" billets thrust into his hand inscribed "Brutus, thou sleepest; thou art no longer Brutus," shook the soul of the philosopher to its center. Cassius, who had married his sister, easily drew him into the plot, and pretended to regard him as its chief support and contriver. His name struck a chord of association which insured a large measure of popular sympathy whenever the deed should be done. So long as Cæsar remained in the city, opportunities would not be hard to find, for he insisted upon going about unarmed and without escort, protesting that it was better to die at once than to live always in fear of dying. But so soon as he should quit the city for the camp, his safety would be assured by the fidelity of the soldiers. It was apprehended, not without reason, that once more at the head of the legions he would not return as a citizen to Rome. Nay, it was possible that he might not choose to return to Rome at all, but transfer the seat of empire to some new site—Ilium, perhaps, or, if the charms of Cleopatra should retain their power, perhaps Alexandria.

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[2] Mommsen, "History of Rome," tr., vol. v. p. 305.

Such considerations forbade delay. The imperator's departure was imminent. The Senate was convened for the Ides of March, the 15th of the month, 44 B. C., and it was determined to strike the blow at the sitting of that day. Hints of impending danger reached Cæsar's ear; even the inauspicious day was brought to his notice; he would fain have excused himself from attending the assembly. But his fears were laughed away by Decimus, and he went. As he moved through the Forum to the theater of Pompeius in the Campus, more than one person tried to warn him of his danger. As he passed the augur Spurinna, he observed to him pleasantly, "The Ides of March are come." "Ay, Cæsar," replied the sage, "but they're not gone." He entered the hall, his enemies closing around him, and keeping his friends at a distance, Trebonius being specially charged to detain Antonius at the door. On his taking his seat, Cimber approached with a petition for his brother's pardon. The other conspirators joined in the supplication, grasping his hands and embracing his neck. Cæsar put them from him gently, but Cimber seized his toga with both hands and pulled it over his arms. Then Casca, who was behind, drew his dagger, and grazed his shoulder with an ill-directed stroke. Cæsar disengaged one hand with a cry, and snatched at the hilt. "Help!" cried Casca, and in a moment fifty daggers were aimed at the victim. Cæsar defended himself for an instant, and wounded one man with his stylus; but when he distinguished Brutus in the press, the steel flashing in his hand also, "What! thou too, Brutus!" he exclaimed, let go his grasp of Casca, and, drawing his robe over his face, made no further resistance. The assassins stabbed him through and through, and he fell dead at the foot of Pompeius's statue. But not by such means could the Republic be restored.

By the time the deed was done the conspirators found themselves alone in the hall. Senators, lictors, attendants, all had fled. Antonius had slipped away unobserved to his own house. Great consternation fell on the citizens, who expected riot and massacre to follow; for while Decimus had armed some gladiators for his own and his friends' defense, the city was filled with Cæsar's veterans, and Lepidus with a legion was just outside the walls.

The assassins now marched to the Forum to seek the public approval of their deed. They shouted that they had slain a king and a tyrant, but they met with no response. Dismayed by this cold reception, they took refuge with their armed guards on the Capitol, and were joined there during the evening by Cicero and others of the republican party. Next day Brutus descended into the Forum and tried to stir the populace by a speech. He was coldly listened to, and finally driven back to his refuge on the Capitol. During the past night Antonius had not been idle; he had secretly obtained from Calpurnia, Cæsar's wife, the dead man's will, and his private treasures. With the help of his brothers, he had also appropriated two million sesterces from the public treasury. Provided with these resources, he had made overtures to Lepidus, and received his promise of support.

Antonius, the minister and favorite companion of Cæsar, was regarded by many as his natural successor. Hitherto known chiefly for his bravery and dissipation, he was now about to display the arts of a consummate intriguer. He opened a negotiation with the liberators, and with their consent, as consul, convened the Senate on March 17 near the Forum; but the murderers dared not leave the Capitol, and the discussion of their deed was carried on in their absence.

The majority of the Senate would have declared Cæsar a tyrant; but Antonius pointed out that this course would have the effect of annulling all his acts and appointments, and thereupon those who were interested in maintaining them resisted the proposal with all their might.

At length, by the advice of Cicero, a compromise was agreed to. No judgment was pronounced either upon Cæsar or his murderers, but an amnesty or act of oblivion was decreed, which left Cæsar's acts unchallenged, and yet assured the safety of the liberators. The populace acquiesced, and invited the latter to descend from the Capitol, Antonius and Lepidus sending their children as hostages. The dictator's assignment of the provinces was then confirmed. Trebonius succeeded to Asia, Cimber to Bithynia, Decimus to the Cisalpine, while Macedonia was secured to Brutus, and Syria to Cassius, on the expiration of their term of office at home. Antonius, however, remained master of the situation. If Cæsar was not a tyrant, his will must be accepted, and his remains interred with public honors. Antonius recited the will to the people, in which Cæsar nominated Octavius his heir, and bequeathed his gardens by the Tiber to the Roman people, and 300 sesterces to every citizen. The liberality of their departed favorite exasperated the rage of the people against his murderers. The funeral pyre had been built in the Campus Martius, but the body lay in state in the Forum on a bier of gold and ivory. At its head hung the victim's toga hacked by the assassins' daggers; the twenty-three wounds by which his life-blood had ebbed away were represented on a wax-figure visible to all. Antonius, as chief magistrate of the Republic, now stepped forward to recite the praises of the mighty dead. The people, deeply moved by the sad spectacle before them, had been further excited by dramatic representations of the deaths of Agamemnon and Ajax by the treason of their nearest and dearest. Antonius read the decrees which had heaped honors upon Cæsar, had declared his person inviolable, his authority supreme, himself the father of his country. Then he pointed to the bleeding corpse which neither laws nor oaths had shielded from outrage, and vowed that he would avenge the victim whom he could not save. The people, in a frenzy of enthusiasm, insisted upon burning the body where it lay in the midst of the Forum. Chairs, tables, brushwood, were hastily piled together and the body laid upon them. The temple of Castor and Pollux stood hard by, and it was averred that two majestic youths, armed with sword and javelin, were seen to apply the torch. As the flame rose, the veterans hurled in their arms, the matrons their ornaments, even the children's trinkets were devoted. The foreigners present in the city—Gauls, Iberians, Africans, Orientals—were not behind the citizens in their demonstrations of reverence and grief for the dead. The success of Antonius was complete. The people, excited to fury, seized burning brands, and rushed to fire the houses of the conspirators. These attempts were repulsed, but Brutus and his associates dared not show themselves in public. Antonius now interfered to stop the rioting with armed force; he also took steps to conciliate the Senate; he passed a resolution abolishing the office of dictator; and he proposed the recall of Sextus, the last survivor of the Pompeii. He at the same time communicated with the liberators Brutus and Cassius, who were in hiding, and offered them his good offices and protection. In return for all this, he asked one favor—the right to enlist a bodyguard for his own protection. The Senate weakly assented; and in a short time he had 6000 men under arms.

The Senate had confirmed Cæsar's acts, and this sanction Antonius caused to be extended to those which had been merely projected. He himself possessed all Cæsar's papers, and, having gained his secretary, Faberius, could forge authority for anything he chose. Everything lay at his feet, and things which Cæsar had not dared to do, Antonius did in his name. By the sale of places, and even of provinces, he quickly amassed wealth, and proceeded to purchase senators and soldiers and tributary sovereigns—even his own colleague Dolabella. Thus supported, he coolly reversed the dictator's disposition of the provinces, depriving Brutus and Cassius of their promised governments, claiming Macedonia for himself, and giving Syria to Dolabella. "The tyrant is dead," murmured Cicero, "but the tyranny still lives." This was strictly true, and it might surely have been foreseen. The crime of the liberators had borne no fruits, and therefore was a blunder and a folly. Within a week Antonius had set himself up as a second tyrant hardly less powerful than the first. But another aspirant now enters upon the scene; a third tyrant, more powerful than either Cæsar or Antonius, but craftier and more fortunate, was about to seize the sovereignty, and establish the Empire of Rome. Cæsar had been "monarch, but he never played the king. Even when absolute lord of Rome, he retained the deportment of the party leader . . . it seemed as if he wished to be nothing but the first among his peers. . . . From early youth . . . Cæsar was a statesman in the deepest sense of the term, and his aim was the highest which man is allowed to propose to himself—the political, military, intellectual, and moral regeneration of his own deeply decayed nation, and of the still more deeply decayed Hellenic nation intimately akin to his own."[3]

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[3] Mommsen, "History of Rome," tr., vol. v. p. 308.

Chapter II

OCTAVIUS AND THE SECOND TRIUMVIRATE

44-42 B. C.

THE young Octavius, busy with his martial exercises among the legions at Apollonia, was surprised by the news of Cæsar's assassination. His mother's letters determined him to return to Rome, and before he started he received an assurance that the legions would support him. On landing in Apulia almost alone, he first learned the contents of Cæsar's will, his own adoption and inheritance. He at once boldly assumed the name of Caius Julius Cæsar Octavianus, and presented himself to the soldiers at Brundisium as the adopted son of the great imperator. He was received with acclamations; the friends of Cæsar began to flock around him, but the young adventurer wisely declined any display of force. In temperate language he addressed the Senate, claiming, as a private citizen, the inheritance of a deceased father. As he passed through Cumæ, he visited Cicero, and gained his favorable opinion. At the end of April he entered Rome, and found that Antonius was absent from the city.

Despite the warnings of his mother, this youth of eighteen years presented himself before the prætor and claimed Cæsar's inheritance. He harangued the people, and pledged himself to discharge the sums bequeathed to them by his father.

Before the return of Antonius in May, Octavianus had made many friends and conciliated many enemies. In a friendly tone he reproached Antonius for leaving the assassins unpunished, and demanded of him Cæsar's treasures. The consul replied that none such existed; the money left had all been public treasure, and was already spent. Octavianus, undismayed by this failure of resources, proceeded to sell what remained of Cæsar's property, and all his own, borrowed of his friends, and at length amassed a sufficient sum to discharge the obligation he had assumed. The people were delighted by this generous sacrifice, and Antonius perceived with amazement that his youthful rival was not to be despised; but the influence he had already gained with the people was too strong to be shaken either by craft or violence.

Meanwhile the conduct of the liberators was timid and uncertain. Decimus had indeed repaired to his government in the Cisalpine; Cassius, on receiving a pressing invitation from the legions in Syria, yielded to Cicero's counsel, and, in defiance of the decree which had superseded him in favor of Dolabella, set out for his province. Brutus still lingered on the coast of Campania, and, only after long delay, nerved himself at last to the task of calling the patriots to arms in Greece and Macedonia. Cicero had actually embarked to join these conspirators in the East, but being driven ashore in Calabria by stress of weather, could not be persuaded to quit the soil of Italy, and turned his steps, with mournful presentiments, toward Rome. In the West, Sextus Pompeius had appeared at the head of a powerful fleet on the coast of Gaul, and encouraged the rising hopes of the republicans. In the city and in the Senate Antonius still reigned supreme by force of arms, balanced only by the growing authority of Octavianus.

On September 1 the Senate was convoked, and Cæsar's name was to be enrolled among the Roman divinities. Antonius seized the opportunity to attack Cicero, who had returned to Rome the day before, but was not then present, threatening to demolish his house on the Palatine. Next day, in the absence of Antonius, Cicero defended his own conduct both in leaving the city and in returning to it; and then turning to the administration of Antonius, he burst into an eloquent invective. He denounced the consul's arbitrary exercise of power, his venality, his hypocrisy, the falsehood by which he had sheltered his own unlawful deeds behind the pretended authority of the dead imperator. The Senate listened with admiration, and their applause warmed the orator to renewed energy.

In this, the first of Cicero's great orations against Antonius, known as the Philippics, in allusion to the harangues of Demosthenes against Philip of Macedon, he confined himself to denouncing the policy of his enemy, and left his personal habits untouched. A few days later Antonius retorted upon Cicero with a violent tirade against the orator's entire career. All this time Octavius was silently advancing his projects, and undermining Antonius's position. By promises and largesses he was seducing the soldiers from their allegiance. On October 3 the consul hurried off to Brundisium to stay the defection of his legions, which, he heard, had been tampered with. Octavius at the same time left the city to visit his parent's colonies in Campania, Umbria, and the Cisalpine, among which he collected 10,000 men. He also made strenuous efforts to gain Cicero, and, through him, the Senate, whose sanction he required to give legality to his enterprise. He loaded the pliant statesman with compliments and caresses, calling him his father, and promising docility and obedience.

Antonius, too, was acting with energy and decision; by a combination of severe punishments and liberal promises he succeeded in reclaiming some, at least, of his wavering battalions. He then returned to Rome to denounce Octavius before the Senate for levying troops without authority, but only to find that two of his legions had just passed over to his rival. His position was becoming untenable. Sulla, Marius, Cæsar, Pompeius, every party leader, had in turn abandoned the city, where the Senate was paramount, to recruit his forces in the field. Antonius had received from the Senate the government of the Cisalpine, and he now summoned Decimus to withdraw from that province; but the republican proconsul would only yield to force. Antonius then raised his standard at Tibur, and marched to Ariminum at the head of four legions; Lepidus was marching from Spain to join him with four more. Pollio, with four others, remained in Spain, and Plancus, with an equal number, was in Farther Gaul. These were the forces on which it was thought Antonius might rely in his contest with the republicans, but they were widely scattered. The loyalty of the soldiers was uncertain, that of their commanders still more so. Octavius had by this time collected five legions under his command at Arretium, and occupied an independent position, ready to side with either party, or to fall upon the victor. Many citizens supported his pretensions, and the Senate itself accepted him as their champion.

Such was the complication of affairs in the month of November. Cicero meanwhile was working with feverish anxiety to unite all parties against Antonius. He exhorted Decimus; he caressed Octavius; he watched eagerly for the action of Brutus and Cassius, Trebonius and Cimber, in the East. In the West, he trusted mainly to the loyalty of Hirtius and Pansa, the consuls-elect. The moment had arrived for the publication of the second Philippic, already polished in private to the keenest edge of satire. It branded Cæsar as a traitor and a tyrant, Antonius as a monster. It directed the eyes of all to Cicero himself as the mainstay of the commonwealth, and called on every citizen to arm. The effect was electrical. Both people and Senate repudiated and defied the iniquitous usurper. The consuls-elect were confirmed in their loyalty to the Republic by the outburst of public feeling.

Before the end of the year Antonius had confined Decimus within the walls of Mutina. The Senate urged Octavius to attack him; but it was not till the spring of the year 43 B. C. that he took the field, in conjunction with Hirtius and Pansa, the consuls.

During their absence from the city, Cicero, though without an office, was allowed to take the helm of affairs. His eloquent harangues inspired all men with confidence and devotion. He filled the treasury with voluntary contributions from the loyal and fines levied on the disaffected. He maintained an active correspondence with the chiefs in the provinces, assuring each in turn of the constancy of all the others, and encouraging them with glowing accounts of the strength and resources of the party.

Antonius was compelled to raise the siege of Mutina by the advance of Hirtius and Octavius. While pretending to negotiate with them, he suddenly turned upon Pansa, who was on his way to join them, defeated, and mortally wounded him. Hirtius saved the beaten force from utter rout, and a few days later, in conjunction with Octavius, inflicted a defeat on the Antonians. Hirtius lost his life in this engagement, and thus both consuls were stricken down. The Senate and people at Rome, overjoyed by the victory, carried Cicero in triumph to the Capitol, and saluted him as the true victor of Mutina. The contest seemed to be at an end. Decimus was pursuing Antonius; Plancus was advancing to block the passes into Gaul; Brutus and Cassius in the East, and Sextus on the sea, all sent tidings of success.

Before he expired the consul Pansa warned Octavius that the Senate meditated treachery toward him, and advised him to be reconciled with Antonius. The crafty young schemer had already determined on that course. He quarreled with Decimus as the murderer of his father, Cæsar. He let Antonius know that he had no wish to crush him, and stood aside to allow him to effect a junction with Lepidus in the Transalpine. Plancus terminated his long indecision by casting in his lot with the stronger party, and thus Antonius found himself at the head of twenty-three legions.

This was the dreadful reality to which the Senate now awoke from their dream of easy victory. They had thought to use Octavius as their tool, and then to cast him aside. He had asked for and been refused the consulship. He now crossed the Rubicon at the head of eight legions, and marched on Rome to seize the prize by force. Some feeble attempts at defense were made, but one after another the senators and consulars slipped through the gates and went over to the intruder's camp. Cicero, alarmed for his safety, made his escape. On September 22 the people pretended to elect Octavius to the consulship, with his kinsman Pedius for colleague. Next day the audacious stripling completed his twentieth year. The first act of the new consul was to summon the murderers of Cæsar before his tribunal. Judgment passed against them by default, and they were interdicted fire and water.

Octavius was now in a position to make terms with Antonius on a footing of equality. Placed between two such powers, and deserted by Plancus, Decimus was lost. His troops deserted from him wholesale. He tried to escape into Macedonia, but was captured and put to death by Antonius. The blood of the assassin cemented the union between the Cæsarian leaders. Toward the end of October Antonius, Lepidus, and Octavius met near Bononia to share their conquests between them. It was agreed, after three weeks' parley, that Octavius should resign the office of consul, while, under the title of a triumvirate for the establishment of the commonwealth, the three chiefs should reign together over the city, the consuls, and the laws. They claimed absolute authority irrespective of Senate or people, together with the power of appointing to all the magistracies. The provinces were partitioned as follows: Italy was to be held in common by all three; the two Gauls fell to Antonius; Africa and the islands fell to Octavius. These two, with twenty legions each, were to carry on the war, while Lepidus, with Spain and the Narbonensis for his province, was to control the Empire from Rome in the interest of all three. The troops were satisfied with the promise of largesses and estates, and insisted that Octavius should espouse a daughter of Fulvia, wife of Antonius, as a ratification of the compact.

The triumvirs now sent an order to Pedius to slay seventeen of their principal adversaries. The order was promptly executed, but Pedius died from horror and disgust at being made the instrument of such a slaughter. The triumvirs then marched into the city, and occupied the temples and towers, with their troops under arms. On November 27 the triumvirate was proclaimed. Before quitting Rome to combat the murderers of Cæsar in the East, the triumvirs determined to leave no enemies behind them. A formal but limited proscription was decreed. Each picked out the names of the victims he personally required, and each purchased the right to proscribe a kinsman of his colleagues by surrendering one of his own. The list was headed with the names of a brother of Lepidus, an uncle of Antonius, and a cousin of Octavius. Centurions and soldiers were sent in quest of the doomed men, and a good many probably perished without warrant. The heads of the proscribed were affixed to the rostra, but the triumvirs did not always pause to identify them.

On the other hand, many of the proscribed escaped; some to Macedonia, some to the fleet of Sextus Pompeius. Cicero himself was not overtaken till a month later. On the first news of the proscription, Cicero took refuge with his brother in an island near Antium, and even made good his escape to sea; but instead of proceeding in all haste to Macedonia, he twice disembarked, and at length retired to his villa near Formiæ. The danger of delay was imminent; his slaves placed him in a litter, and hurried him toward the shore; but the opportunity had been lost. He was pursued and overtaken by the assassins. Cicero's party were the more numerous, and would have drawn in his defense, but he forbade them. The litter was set down, and, fixing his eyes upon his murderers, Cicero offered his outstretched neck to the sword. The head was severed from the body and carried to Rome, where Antonius set it up with exultation in front of the rostra. Fulvia, it is said, pierced the tongue with her needle, in revenge for the sarcasms it had uttered against both her husbands.

Amid such scenes of horror the year came to a close. On January 1, 42 B. C., Lepidus and Plancus became consuls. In spite of the general mourning and dismay, they insisted on celebrating the commencement of their reign with public festivities. Both of them claimed and held a triumph for victories unknown to history. "The consuls triumph," said the soldiers, "not over the

Gauls, but over the Germans!" Each of them had, in fact, sacrificed a brother in the proscriptions. The massacres had now ended, but funds were needed, and a period of confiscation, forced loans, and heavy requisitions ensued.

The citizens were made to swear obedience to all Cæsar's laws, and to accord him divine honors. Octavius undertook to drive Sextus out of Sicily, but found the straits too strongly guarded by his piratical fleet. Antonius crossed without delay to the coast of Epirus.

Chapter III

THE BATTLE OF PHILIPPI AND THE NEW DIVISION OF THE EMPIRE. 42-37 B.C.

THE Greeks took little interest in the political struggles of their Roman masters, though they had a traditional preference for republican forms. Athens, the capital, the headquarters of philosophy, was a sort of university, frequented by aspiring youths of every nation. Among these was the genial satirist known to us as the poet Horace.

Brutus, the philosopher, on presenting himself at Athens and claiming the government of the province, met with a hearty reception and ready support. The Pompeian veterans, scattered through the country since Pharsalia, flocked about him; the arsenals, the revenues, the forces of the province were placed at his disposal; and in the army which he proceeded to organize many of the Roman students at Athens received commissions: among them the young poet Horace was made a tribune. The neighboring kings and rulers sided with the new governor, who soon overpowered the partisans of the triumvirs.

Cassius, who, since the Parthian campaign of Crassus, enjoyed a high reputation in the East, had established himself with equal success in his province of Syria. It seems strange that these two republican leaders, with ample forces at their disposal, made no effort to resist the usurpation of the triumvirs in Italy. Probably both of them were very much in the hands of their soldiery, who preferred marauding expeditions against weak and wealthy enemies, such as Rhodians and Lycians, to severe fighting against well-trained legions as poor as themselves. Both Brutus and Cassius did, in fact, devote themselves mainly to extracting booty from the regions subject to their sway.

Laden with the plunder of Asia, the armies were about to pass over into Macedonia. It is related that Brutus, while watching in his tent one night, beheld standing before him a terrible phantom, which, on being questioned, replied, "I am thy evil demon; thou shalt see me again at Philippi." The Epicurean Cassius made light of the apparition. With 30,000 foot and 20,000 horse, well-appointed troops, he had no misgivings. The triumvirs meanwhile were advancing across Macedonia with a still more numerous host, but owing to their weakness at sea they were but ill supplied. The two armies came face to face about twelve miles east of Philippi, in 42 B. C. Antonius was opposed to Cassius next the sea; Octavius fronted Brutus more inland. Cassius, aware of his enemy's shortness of supplies, tried to restrain the impatience of his colleague, but in vain. On the day of battle Octavius was ill; his division was overthrown by that of Brutus, and he was carried off in the midst of his retreating army. But Antonius had inflicted an equal defeat on Cassius, and the latter, ignorant of his colleague's success, thought the cause lost, and slew himself in despair.

The effect of this fatal deed was disastrous. Cassius, accustomed to command, had exercised some control over the soldiers; but the mild student who survived was powerless to do so. Despite his lavish largesses and easy discipline, numbers of them deserted his standards. Still, the army of the triumvirs, straitened for provisions, was in little better condition, and could Brutus have refrained from fighting, he might have won a bloodless victory. Instead, he renewed the battle of Philippi, after an interval of twenty days, on the same ground. This time the Cæsarians broke the ranks of their opponents and assailed them in their camp. Next day Brutus found that his reserve of four legions refused to fight, and he had no recourse but to follow the example of Cassius and commit suicide.

Antonius and Octavius were now completely successful, and many important opponents of their policy fell into their hands, on whom they did not scruple to wreak a cruel vengeance. Octavius in particular is said to have shown himself most implacable on this occasion. Some portion of the beaten army escaped with the fleet to reinforce the armament of Sextus Pompeius.

The victors now made a fresh partition of the Empire, Octavius taking Spain and Numidia; Antonius, Gaul beyond the Alps and Illyricum. The Cisalpine was for the first time combined with Italy itself, and the whole peninsula they held in common. Lepidus was contemptuously excluded from all share of the Empire, but was afterward allowed to take the small province of Africa.

Octavius, still suffering in health, returned to Italy. Antonius remained in the East, where his own licentious nature was encouraged by the dissolute habits of the people. Forgetting the claims of his soldiers, he lavished his wealth upon himself and his parasites. Coarse and easy-tempered, he loved flattery if seasoned with wit. He had seen and admired Cleopatra in Cæsar's train, and, having reached Cilicia, he summoned her to appear before him to answer for having sided with Cassius in the recent contest. Cleopatra, confident in her ready wit and personal charms, sailed up the Cydnus to Tarsus in a gilded vessel, with purple sails and silver oars, to the sound of flutes and pipes. She assumed the character of Venus, and Antonius that of Bacchus. The two divinities held their gorgeous revels on board, and it was an easy matter for the wily Egyptian to gain the mastery over the rude soldier. Antonius cast away all thought of domestic claims and schemes of empire, and retired with her to Alexandria, to lose the world in her arms.

Early in the year 41 B. C. Octavius arrived in Italy charged with the invidious task of settling the Cæsarean veterans on the lands of the native proprietors. Fulvia, daring and ambitious, was virtually ruling the state through her influence over the consuls. She resented the appearance of Octavius on the scene, and, hoping to win back her husband from his Egyptian charmer by stirring up troubles in Italy, she encouraged the Italians to resist the assignment of their lands to the veterans. A short civil war ensued; but Agrippa, the best friend and ablest officer of Octavius, shut up the malcontents in Perusia, and reduced them to capitulate by stress of famine.

The news of Octavius's growing ascendency in Italy, together with an attack of the Parthians on Syria, at length roused Antonius from his dream of pleasure. Dispatching his lieutenant Ventidius to repel the Parthians, he started himself for Italy with some legions and a powerful fleet. At Athens he met his wife Fulvia, who upbraided him for his desertion of her; but he retorted bitterly upon her, and she soon after died broken-hearted. Passing thence to the shores of the Adriatic he made a compact with Sextus Pompeius, who transported him across the straits, and together they proceeded to plunder the southeastern coasts of

Italy. Sextus had been so long an exile from Rome that he was looked upon as no better than a foreigner or barbarian; and the man who in company with such an ally assailed the sacred soil of Italy was justly regarded as an invader. When, therefore, Octavius drew the sword to resist his advance, the people hailed him as the champion of their hearths and their gods. For the moment, however, the soldiers were stronger than the people. They compelled their chiefs to treat, and, with the help of Cocceius Nerva, Pollio, and Mæcenas, a new partition was arranged. Antonius received the whole eastern half of the Empire from the Adriatic to the Euphrates. Octavius took the entire west, and Africa was abandoned to Lepidus. The peace was cemented by the marriage of Antonius, now a widower, with Octavia, the sister of the young Cæsar; and the rivals, outwardly reconciled, hastened to Rome to celebrate their alliance with games and festivities.

Octavius, to whom the government of Rome now fell by right, controlled the mutinous disposition of the soldiers, and tranquilized the people by regular distributions of grain. He had already repudiated Claudia, the daughter of Fulvia, whom he married to satisfy the soldiers, and he now wedded Scribonia, a relative of Sextus Pompeius. This led to a reconciliation with the wild sea-rover. Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica were assigned to him as his share of the Empire; and he was charged to clear the sea of pirates, as his father had done. The three chiefs banqueted together, not on land, where the imperators might be too powerful, nor at sea, where the pirate chief could make himself master of his guests, but on board a vessel moored within the harbor. Mænas, an officer of Sextus, proposed to cut the cable and carry them out to sea; but Sextus forbade it, muttering that Mænas should have done the deed, but not have asked leave to do it. Sextus still cherished some hopes of empire, and alone among the Romans based his hopes on maritime ascendency. Surrounded by foreign adventurers, he had forgotten the habits —even, it is said, the speech—of a Roman. He affected to be the son of Neptune, and pretended to the honors of a demi-god.

The ill-assorted alliance did not long continue. Octavius repudiated Scribonia, in order to espouse Livia, whom he forced from her husband, Tiberius Nero. Sextus was the first to arm, and Antonius, at the instance of his consort Octavia, assisted

Octavius against him with a fleet of 130 galleys, in return for which he demanded 20,000 legionaries for the war he was preparing against Parthia.

Antonius then rejoined Cleopatra in the East, sending his wife home to her brother's care. Mænas proved a traitor to his own master, and with his aid Octavius soon recovered Sardinia and Corsica; but his attempts at naval warfare were unsuccessful till the command was taken by the valiant and prudent Agrippa.

On January 1, 37 B. C., M. Vipsanius Agrippa became consul, and set himself to the task of wresting the command of the sea from Sextus, and in the ensuing spring he attacked Sicily at its three salient angles. Octavius in person conducted the assault on Messana, but was more than once repulsed; Lepidus gave but little assistance. At last Agrippa completely defeated Sextus in the great sea-fight at Naulochus, and the latter collected his treasures and abandoned Sicily for the East. Antonius, however, would not receive him, but finally crushed him in another great naval battle. Lepidus, who had landed in Sicily, demanded this island for himself and there ventured to match himself against Octavius, but was quickly overcome. Octavius spared his life, and this most feeble scion of the great Æmilian house lingered on through more than twenty years of retirement at Circeii.

Chapter IV

THE BATTLE OF ACTIUM AND END OF THE PERIOD OF CIVIL WAR. 31-30 B.C.

ON the deposition of Lepidus, his conqueror commanded not less than 45 legions, 25,000 horsemen, and 37,000 light troops, besides a fleet of more than 500 galleys. But he had now to reckon with his own victorious soldiers, who demanded large rewards in lands and money. To satisfy these claims, Octavius imposed severe exactions, especially on Sicily. On his return to Rome, the people, rejoicing in the abundance of corn which had followed on the clearance of the seas, received him triumphantly. The Senate would have heaped honors upon him, but he accepted only the tribunician inviolability, an ovation, and a golden statue. He declined to take from Lepidus the office of Pontifex Maximus.

Deeply impressed by the fate of Cæsar, Octavius was very watchful over the safety of his own life. Though in reality engaged upon the enterprise of raising himself above the laws, he took no step, however daring, without trying to secure for it the semblance of legality. Before reëntering the city, he rendered an account of all his acts to the people, excused his proscriptions by the plea of stern necessity, and promised clemency for the future. He proceeded to restore their ancient prerogatives to the magistracies; and the wise administration of Mæcenas reconciled many enmities. Life and property were secured by the institution of a cohort of city guards. An active police scoured the whole peninsula, rooting out the bands of robbers, releasing many kidnaped freemen from the factories of the great proprietors, and restoring to their masters, or putting to death, multitudes of fugitive slaves who were at large.

About midsummer of the year 36 B. C. Antonius had assembled 100,000 men on the Euphrates to complete the conquest of the Parthians. Cleopatra joined him on his way, but he sent her back to Egypt, promising soon to return to her there. The season was now so far advanced that he had to march in great haste, and on reaching Praaspa, three hundred miles beyond the Tigris, he found that the engines needed for a siege had fallen far into the rear. He tried to reduce the city by blockade, but found his own supplies cut off by the Parthian horsemen, and was soon obliged to beat a hasty retreat. The severe winter of that elevated region was imminent, and his legions suffered intense hardships during a march of twenty-seven days. Antonius hurried his weary soldiers, with great loss and suffering, back to Syria, where Cleopatra met him, and with her he returned unabashed to Alexandria. The imperator chose to represent this shameful retreat as a victory, and Octavius humored his conceit, and so maintained a cordial understanding with him. In the following year he made an inroad into Armenia, carried off King Artavasdes in gilded chains to Alexandria, and, to the disgust of all Roman citizens, celebrated a triumph in the streets of his foreign capital.

The Egyptian court now plunged into the grossest debauchery, the queen leading the way, and contriving a succession of new pleasures for the Roman voluptuary. If she would retain her seat upon the throne of the Ptolemies, she must keep her lover constantly amused. If she could succeed in converting him into an Oriental despot, she might yet hope to rule supreme upon the Capitol. All her talents, which were of the most varied kind, were called into requisition, as well as the lighter artifices of her sex. Painters and sculptors grouped the illustrious pair together, and the coins of the kingdom bore the effigies and titles of both. Masques and revels followed in quick succession, and the princely lovers assumed the characters of Isis and Osiris.

The rumors of these orgies caused much resentment at Rome, where Octavius was advancing in popularity, and beginning to fill the space in the public eye left vacant by Cæsar's death. His manners were affable, his concern for the public weal unwearied. After the reduction of Sicily, he had established a mild but firm government at Rome. He had then encountered with success some of the rudest tribes among the Alpine passes, in Dalmatia, Illyria, and the remote Pannonia. At the end of three campaigns, in one of which he obtained the distinction of an honorable wound, the Senate decreed him a triumph, but he deferred its celebration. Already at the beginning of 33 B. C. the rivals had entered upon angry recriminations, Antonius objecting that he had not received his share of troops and provinces on the deprivation of Lepidus, at which time Octavius had assumed the administration of Africa, while Octavius retorted by charging him with the murder of Sextus; the capture of Artavasdes, an ally of the Republic; above all, with his scandalous connection with the Egyptian queen, and his acknowledging her child Cæsario as a genuine son of the dictator. Antonius, who had been preparing an expedition against the Parthians, suddenly changed the destination of his legions to Ephesus. Thither his officers were directed to bring numerous fresh battalions levied throughout Greece, Africa, and Asia. Thither, too, he summoned the barbarian chiefs from the Caspian to the Syrtis to assemble with their hosts of auxiliaries. Cleopatra contributed not only a contingent of troops, but a squadron of the most powerful galleys ever launched upon the Mediterranean. The object of all these preparations was not avowed. Antonius pretended to be absorbed in frivolities. He passed the winter at Samos, lavishing his resources upon a splendid Dionysian festival, and the new Bacchus repeated his former extravagances while the empire of the world was trembling in the balance.

During the year 32 B. C. the consuls were Domitius Ahenobarbus and Sosius, both nominees of Antonius; but their influence was counterbalanced by the defection of some important partisans from his cause. Plancus returned from the East, charged with the testament of Antonius, which he was to deposit in the custody of the Vestal Virgins. This document he betrayed to Octavius. The Senate learned with horror that the renegade triumvir had recognized Cæsario as the legitimate heir of Cæsar, that he had distributed crowns and provinces among his own bastards, and directed his own body to be entombed with Cleopatra's in the mausoleum of the Ptolemies. No one could any longer doubt the truth of the rumors which asserted that he had pledged himself to subject Rome to the caprices of the Queen of Egypt, to remove to Alexandria the seat of empire, to prostrate the gods of the Capitol before the monsters of the Nile. He even presented Cleopatra with Roman territory. All eyes were turned upon Octavius as the designated savior of the nation and of its faith. He refrained, however, as yet from declaring Antonius a public enemy, although a popular decree deprived him of his command, and contented himself with proclaiming war with Egypt.

With the sanction of the Senate, he assumed the consulship, with Messala for his colleague, at the beginning of the year 31 B. C. At such a crisis the legitimate office was more effective, as it had always been more popular, than any extraordinary commission.

To the remonstrances of his own friends, who urged him to dismiss Cleopatra, Antonius replied by divorcing his legitimate wife. Preparations for war were pushed forward on both sides. The forces of Antonius numbered 100,000 infantry and 12,000 horse. He was supported by many kings and potentates of the East. His fleet counted 500 galleys, some of which had eight and even ten banks of oars.

The infantry of Octavius was less by 20,000, his cavalry about equal, and his fleet, commanded by the skillful Agrippa, comprised no more than 150 ships, slighter but more manageable than those of his enemy. Finding the straits unguarded, Octavius carried his troops over into Epirus, and from that moment defection began both among the Roman and barbarian leaders on the other side. Antonius thought himself surrounded by traitors, and required Cleopatra herself to taste all the viands set before him.

Both on land and at sea the Western power began to assert its superiority in the preliminary encounter. The two armies had been gradually concentrated on the shores of the Ambracian Gulf, which was occupied by the fleet of Antonius. Here Antonius challenged his rival to decide the contest by single combat, but received a contemptuous refusal. He began to despair of victory, and to meditate an inglorious escape by sea to Egypt, leaving his army to retreat as best it might into Asia.

At length, in September of 31 B. C., at mid-day, with a light favoring breeze, the huge galleys of the Oriental fleet sailed forth into the open sea. Too unwieldy for attack, they were provided with ponderous defenses, and the light vessels of Octavius could make but little direct impression on them. The Liburnian triremes, however, were maneuvered with activity and intelligence. They rowed round and round their unwieldy adversaries, sweeping away their banks of oars, distracting their defenders with flights of arrows, and at last applying fire to the crippled monsters. In the midst of the fight Cleopatra's galley hoisted its sails, threaded the maze of combatants, and stood away for Egypt. Antonius leaped into a boat and hurried after her in disgraceful flight. The rage and shame of his adherents filled them with despair; yet they maintained the contest with determination till, one by one, their huge vessels took fire and burned to the water's edge. Three hundred galleys were captured.

The army on shore for some time refused to believe in the faint-hearted conduct of its chief; and it was not till Canidius, the general in command, passed over to Octavius's quarters that the gallant legions could be induced to make their submission.

On the point of land, the *acté,* which overlooked the scene of the battle, stood a little chapel of Apollo, known as the Actium. From this place the great sea-fight, which decided the fate of Rome and of the world, derived its name; and on this spot Octavius instituted the festival of the Actian games, which was celebrated every five years for many generations.

The conqueror had nothing now to fear from Cleopatra and her minion; he could allow their punishment to bide its time. Mæcenas had been left to govern Rome, and Agrippa was now dispatched to pacify Italy, which was still disturbed, while Octavius visited Greece, and received a glad welcome from its people. Thence he passed on to Asia, where provinces and dependent kingdoms promptly submitted to him. During the winter he visited Rome for a few days, and was escorted from Brundisium by a crowd of citizens, knights, and senators. Once more he was forced to sell his own property and that of his nearest friends to satisfy the claims of his veterans; and, promising an ample largess out of the spoils of Egypt, he started in the spring to complete his victory over the fugitives.

The news of Antonius's defeat at Actium, and of the submission of his land army, had preceded him to Egypt; and on his arrival there he found his authority renounced by the Roman legions. He was hardly restrained from suicide; but on rejoining Cleopatra at Alexandria he found her preparing, with masculine activity, to defend herself. One after another, however, her allies fell away from her, and then she conceived the idea of fleeing with her treasures to the utmost parts of Arabia. Some of her ships were even dragged across the Isthmus of Suez to the Red Sea, but were there destroyed by the Arabs. The project had to be abandoned, as was also the still wilder scheme of taking flight to Spain and raising that turbulent province against the heir of Cæsar. After an interval of sullen isolation, Antonius returned to his mistress and plunged with her into reckless orgies till the time should come for both to die.

Meantime both the one and the other pleaded for mercy separately from the victor. Antonius received no reply. Cleopatra was encouraged to hope for favor if she would rid the world of Antonius. Octavius was resolved to make her kingdom his own, but he wished to exhibit her alive at his triumph, and he was most anxious to possess himself of the treasures of the Ptolemies, which she had it in her power to secrete or destroy. His agents suggested to her that Octavius was young, and might yield to the power of her charms; and in the hope of a last conquest she determined to betray her paramour. As the conqueror approached, Antonius, encouraged by some success in a cavalry skirmish, prepared to strike one blow for empire; but at that moment both his navy and his troops, seduced by the queen's artifices, deserted him. He was at the same time falsely informed that she had committed suicide. All was now over with Antonius, and he inflicted upon himself a mortal wound; but before he died the queen caused him to be conveyed to the tower in which she had taken refuge, and he expired in her arms.

Octavius's first care on entering Alexandria was to secure the queen alive. This was accomplished with some difficulty; she returned to the palace, resumed her state, and prepared to receive the visit of Octavius. Much depended for her on her success in this interview, and she used every artifice to excite the pity, if not the love, of her young conqueror. Octavius fixed his eyes coldly on the ground, asked for a list of her treasures, and bidding her be of good courage, quitted her. Cleopatra was dismayed at her failure; but on learning that she was certainly to be removed to Rome, made up her mind to die. She retired to the tower of her mausoleum, where lay the body of Antonius, and was next day found dead with her two women. The manner of her death was never certainly known, but at the triumph of Octavius a wax image of her was carried in the procession, with the arms encircled by serpents; and this confirmed the popular rumor that she perished by the bite of an asp conveyed to her for the purpose in a basket of figs. Her child by Cæsar was cruelly put to death; the dynasty of the Ptolemies ceased to reign, and Egypt became a Roman province.

With the death of Antonius the period of civil wars and political strife comes to an end. The struggle so long maintained by the people against the nobles has ended in the submission of both parties alike to a supreme ruler. The hour has come, and with it has appeared the one man capable of using it for the establishment of a durable monarchy upon a firm foundation. Had Antonius triumphed at Actium, his profligate empire would have quickly fallen to pieces. The preëminent genius of Octavius is attested by the permanence of the edifice which he erected. The creations of his hand were rooted in the ancient ideas and habits of the people; they stood the test of time, unlike the fabrics of Sulla's and Cæsar's power, which quickly collapsed and perished. We must now examine the system adopted by the real founder of the Roman Empire, which endured in its main features for more than two centuries, and continued to animate the governments of Rome and Constantinople down to the commencement of modern history, if indeed it can be said to be even yet extinguished.[1]

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[1] To resume: In a few words, the system of imperial government, as it was instituted by Augustus, . . . may be defined as an absolute monarchy disguised by the forms of a commonwealth.—Gibbon, "Decline and Fall of Rome," Bury's ed., vol. i. p. 68.

"This new office of Imperator was nothing else than the primitive regal office reëstablished. . . . There is hardly a trait of the new monarchy which was not found in the old." But, one fact is never to be forgotten: All Roman citizens regarded "the Imperator as the living and personal expression of the people."—Mommsen, "History of Rome," tr. vol. v. pp. 333-334.

Chapter V

THE FOUNDATION OF THE EMPIRE BY AUGUSTUS

29-27 B.C.

AFTER regulating his new province, Octavius made a progress through his Eastern dominions, rewarding his allies and dispossessing his enemies. He passed the winter at Samos, wishing perhaps to allow more time for his proscriptions to be forgotten, before he returned in triumph to Rome. When at last he reached the city, in the middle of 29 B. C., he was welcomed with enthusiasm. The temple of Janus was closed for the third time in Roman history, and peace prevailed everywhere. He had now to choose whether he would be a citizen of the commonwealth or its ruler. The framework of the republican government still existed; both Senate and people continued to exercise their prerogatives. Octavius himself professed to wield only a delegated authority. He had laid down the extraordinary powers of the triumvirate; it was as consul commissioned by the state that he conquered at Actium and subjugated Egypt. His acts in Greece and Asia awaited the confirmation of the Senate. So moderate and loyal did he seem that his popularity was unbounded.

As soon as the ceremony of his triple triumph was ended, Octavius ought by law to have disbanded his army and laid down his command. This necessity he evaded; for the Senate, eager to flatter and caress him, conferred upon him the title of Imperator, and allowed him to prefix it to his name, as Julius Cæsar had done, whereby he became permanent commander of the national forces. Every ordinary command ceased the moment the imperator entered the city, but Octavius, as emperor, might wear the insignia of military power even within the city. This prerogative, indeed, he never exercised, and his example was followed by his successors. They generally relinquished even the formal title of imperator in their ordinary intercourse with their subjects, and were content to appear as princes or premiers of the citizens.

Having thus secured to himself the army, the instrument of substantial power, Octavius sought to disguise the real foundation of his authority by raising the estimation of the Senate as the representative of the national will. Julius Cæsar first, and after him the triumvirs, and especially Antonius, had degraded the Senate by swelling its numbers to a thousand, and thrusting into it foreigners and men of low condition. Octavius now assumed the powers of the censorship, by virtue of which he ejected from the Senate many who were unworthy to sit in so august an assembly, reducing the number to six hundred, and requiring strictly a property qualification.

Upon the Senate thus remodeled, Octavius conferred additional dignity by placing himself at its head as Princeps, the most honorable of all republican titles, and one which had always been held for life. The military command he soon offered to resign, and, after a long affectation of resistance, accepted it only for a term of years, but it was afterward repeatedly renewed to him. The powers both of the consul and of the censor, but without the titles, were in like manner renewed to him from time to time, and by virtue of them he occupied the highest place in the city, and was recognized as the chief of the state, the head of both its legislative and executive departments, the organ of its foreign relations. The Romans had been wont to say that their consul was, in fact, a king, checked by the presence of a colleague, and by the limited term of his office. Octavius, however, holding his authority for life, and sitting paramount above the titular consuls, reigned under the forms of a republic as real king of the Romans. "The statesmanship of Augustus appears most clearly of all in his reorganization of the provincial government of the Empire. The provinces were divided into two classes. The lower provinces, long conquered and well organized, were left under the administration of the Senate as originally, though their governors were held to a more real and strict responsibility. The more recent provinces and those on the frontiers, which were unsettled and exposed to attack, the emperor held in his own hands, that is, he governed them by officers appointed by himself and immediately responsible to him for their conduct. The change was one of great advantage to the provincials."[1] This system was called the dyarchy, or system of senatorial and imperial provinces. The prerogative of the emperor was completed by the acquisition of the powers of the tribunate, which were conferred on him in perpetuity. The chief value of this power lay in the popularity of its name. The people, long accustomed to look upon the tribunes as the champions of their liberties, could not imagine that they were really the slaves of one who held that title. When Octavius, after the death of Lepidus, assumed the dignity of sovereign pontiff, he combined in his single hand the most invidious instruments of patrician tyranny and plebeian independence.

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[1] G. B. Adams, "European History," p. 108.

Nevertheless, while Octavius thus amassed one prerogative after another, he discreetly avoided drawing attention to his really sovereign power by the assumption of any distinctive title. Antonius had formally abolished the dictatorship. No voice was allowed to hail the new Cæsar as "king." Yet the need was felt of some distinguishing name to express the new power which had arisen, Various titles [2] were discussed between the emperor and his friends, and at length the epithet "Augustus," hitherto applied only to the temples and services of the gods, was proposed and determined on. The worship of Octavius as a god was spreading tacitly in the provinces, though as yet forbidden in Italy; the name of Augustus, decreed by the Senate in 27 B. C., gave a fresh impulse to the sentiment of adulation which already possessed the people.

The question has often been discussed whether or no Julius Cæsar had formed any definite scheme for the constitution of the Roman Empire. It may well be that, had his life been prolonged, he might have molded the whole mass of the citizens and subjects of Rome into one body politic under his own autocratic rule. Judging from his treatment of the Gauls, both in Italy and beyond the Alps, it seems certain that his policy would have been to break down the barriers which divided citizens from subjects, and to fuse all the various races which peopled the Roman Empire into one vast nation on the basis of equal rights, with one language and one law for all alike. The conquests of Alexander, with the consequent wide diffusion of the Greek tongue, had familiarized the world with this idea in practice, and the speculations of every school of philosophy encouraged mankind to look forward with longing to such a consummation, as the greatest blessing that could be conferred upon the human race. The Epicurean philosophy and the popular traditions inherited by Julius Cæsar both inclined him to favor such

[2] The common titles of the Roman ruler were: Princeps, Cæsar, Imperator, Augustus.

ideas, which, to an old-fashioned Roman, must have seemed nothing short of revolutionary.

The policy of Augustus was on this point, as on most others, diametrically opposed to that of his great-uncle. Julius had fallen just as the throne had been attained; Augustus, ever studious to avoid a like fate, marked his uncle's footsteps only to avoid them. Julius had openly, and without extenuation, grasped at kingly power; his nephew strove by every means to disguise the reality of his own kingship behind the mask of republican forms. Julius had aspired to mold mankind into one great nation, and had thereby alienated the old national party in Rome. Augustus steadily opposed these subversive notions. Resisting all the pressure brought to bear upon him, he stoutly maintained that the Romans were a peculiar people, the born sovereigns of mankind, the conquerors and rulers of the world. This statement, however, must be understood with discrimination. Augustus, the child of the popular party, could not altogether repudiate the doctrines as the representative of which he had risen to power; he, too, extended the Roman franchise to the provincials, but always in a cautious and temperate manner, taking care to give due effect to the opposing doctrine which asserted the privileged character of the Roman people. The exact color of his system, which had shifted its hues during his early career, seems to have been definitely fixed from the day when, arrayed against the foreign forces of his rival Antonius, he came forth at the head of the Senate, the people and the gods of Rome, as the champion of the whole nation, without respect to class or party.

The extension of the Roman franchise was by no means the only matter concerning which a conflict of ideas was in progress. Roman prætors and proconsuls had carried the Roman law into every province of the Empire, but they had also been compelled to take account of the usages and principles of jurisprudence already established among the conquered races, many of which were more in harmony than the hard old laws of Rome with the advancing cultivation and humanity of the age. These foreign principles of law were gradually asserting themselves, and forcing their way even into the Roman Forum. There arose two schools of Roman lawyers, the conservative and the liberal. It has already been stated that Julius contemplated a codification of Roman law, and it is probable that he aimed at a large modification of the old laws of the Republic, so as to bring them into harmony with the more liberal jurisprudence of other countries. Augustus threw his weight into the opposite scale, and strove to preserve the ancient laws as little changed as possible.

In the realm of religion the conflict of ideas was the hottest of all. For two centuries Rome had in vain attempted to maintain her old mythology and ritual in face of the new ideas which crowded in upon her from foreign parts. Now Greeks, Egyptians, Syrians, even Jews, as subjects of the Empire, demanded the recognition and free exercise of their religious creeds and usages. The metropolis of the world had become the common receptacle of all existing beliefs and ceremonials. Here, too, Augustus exerted all his force to sustain and revive the old national traditions. For his own part, he seems to have been devoid of all belief in any of the speculative systems current in his time, and derided the ideologists, who were not content, as he was himself, with taking the material world as he found it, and putting it to its practical uses. But he perceived the danger of leaving the multitude to be tossed to and fro by a constant succession of new and exciting blasts of doctrine on such a subject. Augustus was engaged in constructing a fixed and enduring order of affairs. Accordingly he repaired the crumbling temples, revived the priesthoods, and renewed the ancient ceremonials. The "Fasti" of the court poet, Ovid, were, in fact, a calendar of the ritual of the year. The Romans were given to understand that their new chief, who had once saved their country from conquest, and their gods from desecration, had now placed the one under the protection of the other, and bound them together by a pledge of mutual recognition.

The policy of Augustus was on all sides essentially reactionary. Yet we need not suppose that he was blind to the force of circumstances prevailing around him, or that he expected ultimately to arrest the progress of ideas. It was enough for him if he could divert or moderate them; enough, at least, if he could persuade his countrymen that he was doing more than anyone else could do to maintain their Empire on the stable foundations of the ancient ways. It is just possible that a man of greater genius and boldness might have molded his opportunity to a higher issue by guiding the revolutionary forces which he strove merely to restrain. But we must acknowledge how grand was the result which, following his own temper, and the bent of his own character, he did actually effect. The establishment of the Roman Empire was, after all, the greatest political work that any human being ever wrought. The achievement of Alexander, of Cæsar, of Charlemagne, of Napoleon, is not to be compared with it for a moment.

The name of Julius Cæsar was the watchword of the veterans who conquered under his nephew, and it continued dear to the mass of the citizens, as that of the man who had crushed the oligarchy and avenged the Sullan massacres. Yet the great writers of the Augustan Age reflect but little of this enthusiasm. Virgil and Horace have no panegyrics for the elder Cæsar. We need not attribute this silence to any unworthy jealousy on the part of Augustus of the memory of his great predecessor. It was the result of political design. As soon as the rivalry of Antonius was crushed, the attitude of Augustus toward the aristocracy completely changed, and he thenceforth devoted to its interests all the powers he had received from the triumphant democracy. The nobles could not long refuse their support to a conqueror who carried out their own ideas of conservatism and reaction, who promoted the son of Cicero and the friend of Brutus to the highest offices, and who offered to themselves, without reserve, careers of honorable and lucrative employment. At the same time the lower classes were tranquilized and amused by shows and largesses, and relieved from the burden of military service. Citizens of all ranks were set at ease by the cessation of political proscriptions, flattered by the assurance that their empire over the nations was completed and secured, comforted by the knowledge that the favor of the gods had been purchased, and the stability of the state insured by the piety of the emperor.

The easy acquiescence of the Romans in a regal tyranny thus slightly disguised ceases to be surprising when we consider, first, the weariness engendered by a whole century of civil strife and bloodshed; and second, the fact that the race of true old Roman citizens had to a great extent died out, and their places had been filled by a crowd of bastard citizens of miscellaneous origin. To such a mongrel nation royal rule could hardly imply degeneracy or decay. Had not Macedonia been glorious under Philip and Alexander? Had not Sparta, and even Rome itself, been conspicuous for heroism under a dynasty of kings? The Romans had ceased to value or understand free political life, but they could appreciate old customs, religious traditions, wise laws; and as they watched the revival or establishment of such institutions, they looked forward hopefully to a new career of growth and progress.

In his personal habits and demeanor Augustus carefully distinguished between the imperator and the princeps. He withdrew from the familiarity which Cæsar had used toward his legionaries, no longer addressing them as "comrades," but always as "soldiers." But in private life, amid all the magnificence which he encouraged on the part of his nobles, he himself was studiously simple and modest. His house on the Palatine was moderate in size and ornament. His dress was that of a plain senator, woven by the hands of Livia and her maidens in her own apartment. He traversed the streets as a private citizen, with no more than the ordinary retinue of slaves and clients, courteously addressing the acquaintances he encountered by taking them by the hand, or leaning on their shoulders, allowing himself to be summoned as a witness in their suits, and attending at their houses on occasions of domestic interest. At table he was sober and decorous; his guests were few in number, and chosen, for the most part, for their social qualities. Augustus was specially fortunate in the poets he attracted to his court and person. Horace taught his contemporaries to acquiesce in the new *régime* securely and contentedly, while Virgil kindled their imaginations and shed over the Empire of the Cæsars the halo of legendary antiquity. In the temples on days of public service, around their own hearths on every ordinary occasion, the Romans were taught to remember in their prayers the restorer of order, the creator of universal felicity, and to pour a libation for a blessing on themselves and on Cæsar, the father of his country.

This title, the proudest any Roman could obtain, had long been bestowed by the citizens in private on their hero and patron, when at last the Senate took up the voice of the nation, and conferred it upon him with due solemnity. The proposal was received and confirmed with eager acclamations; and Valerius Messala, one of the noblest of the order, was deputed to offer the title in the name of the Senate and the people. "Conscript fathers," replied the emperor, "my wishes are now fulfilled, my vows are accomplished. I have nothing more to ask of the Immortals but that I may retain to my dying day the unanimous approval you now bestow upon me."

Chapter VI

CONDITION OF THE EMPIRE UNDER AUGUSTUS

31 B. C.-14 A. D.

ITALY, which now extended from the Alps to the Straits of Messana, was divided into eleven regions, and governed by the prætor in the city. The rest of the Empire was apportioned between the emperor and the Senate. The imperial provinces were as follows: The Tarraconensis and Lusitania, in Spain; Gaul beyond the Alps, including Upper and Lower Germany—the districts bordering upon the Rhine; Pannonia and Macedonia; Cœlesyria and Phœnicia; Cilicia, Cyprus, and Egypt. To the Senate were assigned Bætica, Numidia, Africa, Cyrenaica, Achaia, Asia, and the great islands off the coast of Italy. Dalmatia and Illyricum, at first given to the Senate, was soon afterward taken by the emperor in exchange for the Narbonensis and Cyprus. Palestine was added by Augustus to the Empire, which then included every coast and island of the Mediterranean except Mauretania. Those parts of the Empire such as Gaul, Pannonia, and Thrace, which extended hundreds of miles away from the inland sea, were little more than wild forests. The populous and civilized parts of the Roman dominion, including all the great cities and centers of commerce, formed but a fringe along the shores of the Mediterranean.

The possession of this great central waterway was most favorable to the peaceful development of the Empire. The facility thus afforded for the interchange of commerce and of thought bound all the provinces together in the bonds of a common interest; and so secure was the peace which resulted from this cause that the Mediterranean provinces were left almost wholly without military garrisons. Italy, and Rome itself, were in like manner almost destitute of regular defenders, the emperor being content to confide his personal safety to a few cohorts of bodyguards or prætorians. It was not till the reign of his successor that these troops were collected into a camp at the gates of the city. Their number never exceeded 10,000 or 20,000. The legions, which formed the stand-

THE DESTRUCTION OF THE ROMAN LEGIONS UNDER QUINTILIUS VARUS BY THE CHERUSCI, UNDER THEIR VALIANT LEADER HERMANN, IN THE TEUTOBURG FOREST

Painting by P. Ivanovics

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ing army of the Empire, were relegated to the frontiers or to turbulent provinces. Three legions occupied Spain; the banks of the Rhine were guarded by eight; two were quartered in Africa, two in Egypt; four were posted on the Euphrates, and four on the Danube; and two were held in reserve in Dalmatia, whence, if required, they could easily be summoned to Rome. Each of these twenty-five legions mustered 6100 foot and 720 horse; they were recruited, for the most part, among the subject races outside Italy, and the local auxiliaries attached to each legion, and armed and drilled after their native usage, about doubled the numbers of the force, raising the total of the imperial armies to 340,000 men. The Italians claimed exemption from legionary service, and were enlisted only in the prætorian cohorts.

Augustus was the first to establish a regular and permanent navy, which he stationed under the supreme command of Agrippa at Misenum, Ravenna, and Forum Julii, or Fréjus, in Gaul. These fleets kept the pirates in check, secured the free transmission of grain to the capital, and convoyed the ships which brought tribute in money from the East and the West.

The sources of public revenue were numerous and varied. The public domain had indeed, for the most part, lapsed into the hands of private proprietors. The land-tax had been remitted to the soil of Italy, since the conquest of Macedonia, but was levied in every other part of the Empire; no citizen or subject was free from the pressure of the poll-tax. Mines and quarries, fisheries and salt works, were public property farmed for the state. Tolls and customs were levied on every road and in every city, and every sort of personal property, including slaves, paid an *ad valorem* duty. Augustus imposed a rate of one-twentieth upon legacies, but this experiment caused considerable murmurs. Egypt and Africa paid a special contribution in grain for the supply of Italy and Rome, and the emperors found themselves obliged to keep up the old practice of doles and largesses, whereby provincial industry was taxed to support idle arrogance at home. The Empire under Augustus, bounded by the Rhine, the Danube, the Euphrates, Mount Atlas, and the Atlantic Ocean, had almost reached the farthest limits that it ever permanently retained, though the conquest of Britain had yet to be undertaken. The population of this vast region is computed at about 100,000,000, and during the long period of peace and prosperity which ensued, it probably continued to increase for another century. The population of Rome may be roughly reckoned at 700,000, and though it long continued to increase, it does not seem to have ever much exceeded 1,000,000—a number which was probably approached, if not equaled, by the census both of Antioch and of Alexandria.

The new ruler set about embellishing his capital by the erection of temples and public buildings, improving so greatly the city that he boasted that whereas he found a city of brick, he left one of marble. In this he was seconded by his nobles, and especially by his friend Agrippa, who, having secured, by his signal services in the field, the second place in the commonwealth, loyally abstained from aiming at the first. In the year 23 B. C., when Augustus, prostrated by fever, seemed unlikely to recover, it was to Agrippa that he handed his ring—a hint, as it was deemed, that it was on him he would most desire that the Empire should be conferred. To Agrippa he intrusted, on his recovery, an Eastern command, which made him almost an equal, and a possible rival, to himself.

Augustus was further supported by the tact and prudence of C. Cilnius Mæcenas. This man had governed Italy for him during his struggle with Antonius, and long remained his chief adviser: to his suggestions the Romans ascribed the first outlines of the imperial system of government. The genial character of Mæcenas attracted to his side the best and ablest men of the day, and secured the favor of the literary class. At his table Virgil, Horace, Varius, and Pollio discussed, in the presence of Augustus, all the various schemes of philosophy and politics, and brought them to an amicable settlement.

The principal events of the reign of Augustus, which extended over more than forty years, were of little mark, and may be shortly enumerated. An outbreak of the Cantabrian mountaineers in Spain compelled the emperor to take the field against them. Stricken by sickness, he quitted the camp, and left his generals to complete their reduction. On the accomplishment of this conquest, he closed Janus a second time. The *Pax Romana,* as it was proudly designated, did not, however, remain long without disturbance, either on the frontier or in the interior. Neither was the old spirit of Roman aggression yet wholly pacified. The proposal to retrieve the ill success of Cæsar against Britain was indeed discussed, but prudently abandoned.

In the year 21 B. C. Augustus, who had just put down the abortive conspiracy of Murena, ventured to leave Rome on a long progress through his Eastern dominions. In Sicily he planted colonies at Syracuse and elsewhere. In Greece he bestowed favors on Sparta, while he withdrew from Athens her lucrative privilege of selling her franchise. After wintering at Samos, he advanced through Asia to Syria, where he punished the people of Tyre and Sidon for their turbulence, and perhaps even as far as Palestine, where he seems to have granted some extension of territory to Herod, King of Judæa. The chief object of this proconsular tour was to recover the standards of Crassus from the Parthians. Tiberius Claudius advanced with an army into Armenia, and Phraates the Parthian at once conceded his demands. Contemporary medals represent him as doing homage at the feet of the emperor's representative and receiving the crown from his hands. The long-lost trophies, the brazen eagles, cherished objects of the soldiers' devotion, were restored by Tiberius to his father and by him transmitted to Rome, and suspended in the temple of Mars the Avenger. They were greeted by the people with acclamations, and by the poets with pæans of triumph.

After receiving a renewal of his powers for a second term of five years in 18 B. C. Augustus determined to celebrate his restoration of the state by holding the secular games with solemn ceremony. They were supposed to be held every hundredth or hundred and tenth year of the Republic; and the Sibylline books, on being consulted, sanctioned the celebration. Heralds traversed the streets, inviting every citizen to attend upon a spectacle "which none of them had ever seen, and none could ever see again." The ceremonies were very simple. Sulphur, pitch, wheat, and barley were distributed. The Aventine, the Palatine, and the Capitoline were paraded by the multitude. Sacrifices were offered; the game of Troy was enacted; and the festival ended with the performance of a choral ode of praise and thanksgiving, probably the actual hymn included among Horace's poems as "*Carmen Sæculare.*"

In the year 15 B. C. the security of the Empire was threatened by barbarian tribes along its whole northern frontier. On the Lower Rhine the legions had been defeated by the Germans with the loss of an eagle. The mountain tribes of Switzerland were menacing the Cisalpine. The Istrian peninsula was invaded by the Pannonians and Noricans. The Dalmatians were in revolt. Macedonia was ravaged by the Mæsians, and Thrace by the Sarmatians. Augustus himself traveled as far as Lugdunum, in Gaul, to inquire on the spot into the weakness of the administration of that province. At the same time, Drusus Claudius Nero, the emperor's younger step-son, overthrew the Rhætians among the Alps near Trent, and defeated the barbarous tribes in the valley of the Inn; while Tiberius followed the course of the Rhine as far up as the Lake of Constance, and crushed the enemy in that quarter.

We are entering on the career of an imperial dynasty. The consuls and tribunes of the Roman commonwealth, though the titles and offices still survive, fall henceforth into a position of minor importance. The emperors indeed, from Augustus onward, will commonly assume the title of consul, and invariably maintain their grasp on the tribunician power, dating the years of their reign by the intervals of its renewal. But those who are associated with them in these offices are overshadowed by the superior dignity and power of the imperial throne. On the other hand, the kindred of the emperor will occupy a prominent place in the state, for from among them the rulers of the world are to be chosen.

Octavia, the sister of Augustus, and wife of Antonius, had a son by a previous marriage named M. Marcellus, who, in default of sons to his uncle, was for some time the hope of the house. This youth gave high promise of ability, as we learn from the matchless praises bestowed upon him by Virgil; and to him Augustus gave for wife his only child Julia, the daughter of Scribonia. But Marcellus died in 23 B. C. at the age of twenty, leaving no offspring. Julia was soon remarried to M. Agrippa, and by him had several children, to one of whom the succession to the Empire might be reasonably expected to fall. The two eldest sons, Caius and Lucius, grew up, and were advanced in the public service; but both of them were cut off in early life—the one in 4 A. D., the other in 7 A. D. A third son, Postumus, was pronounced by his grandfather unfit for public life, and was put aside, if not murdered, by his order. There were also two daughters: Julia, married to Æmilius Paulus, and Agrippina, the wife of Claudius Germanicus, of whom more remains to be told.

So few and obscure were the direct descendants of the great emperor; but he had attached another branch to the stem of his house by his last marriage with Livia Drusilla. This noted matron, the first woman who attained a public position and became a real power in the state, had been married to Tiberius Claudius Nero, and had already borne him a son, Tiberius. In the year 38 B. C., Octavius, after divorcing Scribonia, snatched Livia from her husband and married her himself. A few months later she bore a second son, Drusus, of whom Octavius was reputed to be the father. Livia bore no more children, but maintained her dominion over the heart of her husband, and secured for her two sons the first place in his affections. Tiberius and Drusus were both men of ability, and proved worthy of the confidence placed in them. These two step-sons of the emperor first distinguished themselves in command against the Alpine mountaineers, and were afterward intrusted with the more important task of combating the Germans and Pannonians.

Augustus required of both an entire devotion to his interests and those of the state, exposing them to the hardships of a prolonged warfare far from the pleasures of the capital. While Tiberius was sent to quell an insurrection in Pannonia, Drusus was charged with the administration of Gaul. He signalized his government of that disturbed province by raising an altar to Augustus at Lugdunum—thus confronting the influence of the Druids by the awful associations connected with the majesty of the emperor and the fortune of Rome.

The Rhine, defended by a chain of fortified posts, had long formed the frontier of the Empire; but the impetuous youth who now commanded the legions in that quarter aspired to the conquest of Germany and the reduction of Central Europe to the same state of subjection as Gaul or Spain. Starting from the northeastern frontier of Gaul, Drusus attacked the Usipetes and Sicambri in the country of the Lippe and the Lahn, the modern provinces of Westphalia and Nassau. His aim was to penetrate as far as the Weser, and the seats of the powerful Chauci and Cherusci, now known as Hanover and Detmold. With this object he dispatched an expedition by sea to the mouths of the great rivers which fall into the German Ocean, so as to surprise the enemy in flank and rear. He easily drove the Germans before him by land, but his maritime armament was shattered by the waves and shallows, and he was forced to beat an inglorious retreat.

In a second campaign the eagles were advanced as far as the Weser; but the Germans retired steadily, refusing to risk a battle;

and Drusus did not extricate himself without difficulty from his perilous position. An outpost was planted at Aliso, fifty miles east of the Rhine; and for his successes the emperor granted him the triumphal ensigns and the honor of an ovation, but refused him the title of imperator. Meanwhile the exploits of Tiberius against the Pannonians were deemed worthy of a similar recognition. Augustus had the satisfaction of exhibiting both his stepsons to the people in the character of national heroes. In the year 11 B. C. Tiberius was married to Julia, and about the same time Octavia died.

In the year 10 B. C. Augustus again visited Gaul, and, yielding to the instances of Drusus, authorized another expedition beyond the Rhine. This time the Roman army penetrated through the country of the Chatti as far as the River Elbe. But the Cherusci still retired before them. Drusus became alarmed at the perils of his situation. Unfavorable omens were reported; and after erecting a trophy to mark their farthest point, the legions retreated; but before reaching the Rhine, the young conqueror was killed by a fall from his horse. Augustus conveyed the remains, with ample honors, to Rome, and himself pronounced an oration over the body when it was buried in his own mausoleum in the Campus Martius. The title of Germanicus, which had been conferred on the young hero, was allowed to descend to his son.

Tiberius, who had succeeded in consolidating the Roman power south of the Danube, was now sent to Gaul to complete his brother's conquests. His campaigns in the years 8 and 7 B. C. produced but little result, and he was soon withdrawn by the emperor to Rome, and made consul for a second time.

After the death of Agrippa in the year 12 B. C. and that of Drusus in the year 9 B. C., the hopes of the people and of Augustus became centered in Tiberius; but the union between him and Julia proving fruitless, the emperor began to look to her children by Agrippa for the future support of his power. At the time of Tiberius's recall, her two elder sons, Caius and Lucius, were about fourteen and ten years old respectively. Caius had already served his first campaign. But the conduct of Julia now became so scandalous that the emperor was constrained to banish her to an island. It may be that her disgrace was caused by the jealousy of Livia; but if so, the intrigue was only half successful, for the fall of the mother seemed to increase the grandfather's affection for the children.

Tiberius retired in disgust to Rhodes, where he remained for seven years in moody and indolent seclusion. When, tired at last of his self-imposed banishment, he asked permission to return, the emperor coldly forbade him. This prohibition was afterward withdrawn; but Tiberius was still excluded from all public affairs and made to give place to his more favored nephews, until the premature death of these princes rendered his succession imperative.

The position of the emperor had become lonely. The death of Agrippa had been followed in 8 B. C. by that of Mæcenas. The need of heirs to secure a peaceful succession to the Empire was pressing. Accordingly, in 4 A. D., Augustus adopted Tiberius as his son, and invested him with tribunician power, at the same time requiring him to adopt the young Germanicus, together with his own child by his first consort Vipsania, who bore the name of Drusus. Tiberius now again put himself at the head of the legions in Germany. His campaigns of the years 4 and 5 A. D. were remarkable for their boldness and success. Tiberius in person led his army from Aliso to the Elbe, while a powerful force was sent round by sea from the Rhine, and, sailing up the Elbe, effected a junction with the land army. The Germans, indeed, still pursued their policy of refusing a battle, and thus the Roman general had no victories to boast of; yet the influence of the Empire in Central Europe was much increased by these repeated advances, and the young chiefs of the German tribes began to crowd to Rome, accompanied by their followers, there to learn the arts of civilization. Tiberius contemplated the complete subjugation of Germany; but he lacked the military ardor of a Cæsar or a Pompeius, nor was he heartily supported by the emperor. Augustus perceived the dangerous preponderance which the army was beginning to acquire in the Empire. The mercenary legions clamored for increased pay and privileges, and cried out against their long detention on the frontiers. The citizens, content to live in idleness on the dole of public corn, grew more and more reluctant to endure the hardships and discipline of the camp. The soldiers of the Rhine and the Danube threatened to become Rome's direst enemies.

In 6 A. D. Tiberius transferred his own command from the Rhine to the Danube. Starting from Carnuntum, the modern Presburg, he plunged with six legions westward into the great

Hercynian forest, the modern Bohemia. At the same time his lieutenant Saturninus, with a like force, marched eastward from the Rhine to meet him. This was another bold and skillful combination which deserves unqualified admiration. It was on the point of being completed, when the reported outbreak of an insurrection in Pannonia disconcerted the plans of Tiberius. His first duty was to secure the peace and safety of the Empire. Both armies were ordered to retire upon their respective bases; and this operation was conducted without loss or dishonor.

The struggle of the Pannonians, protracted through three years, was formidable enough to try the resources of the Empire and to bring discredit upon the emperor himself. Augustus had outlived the favor with which he had been so long regarded, and he was harassed by the scandals brought upon his family through the misconduct of a younger Julia as shameless as her mother. The exile of Ovid, which occurred in 8 A. D., was most likely due to a political intrigue, for which his friend Maximus suffered death, and Agrippa Postumus was disgraced and secluded.

The closing years of Augustus were further clouded by a great military disaster. The government of the half-constituted provinces beyond the Rhine had been intrusted to Quintilius Varus. This officer tried to rule the rude Germans by the subtle system of Roman law rather than by the sword. His well-meant endeavors irritated the Germans to the point of rebellion. Headed by their hero Arminius, they compelled the proconsul to take the field against them with three legions. The Roman army, entangled in the Teutoburg forest 9 A. D., was utterly routed, the proconsul slain, and three eagles captured. The Romans had suffered no such defeat except on the three fatal days of the Allia, of Cannæ, and of Carrhæ.

Aided by Tiberius, the emperor gallantly confronted the danger of a general rising in the north and of seditions in the city. The Gauls and Germans in Rome were placed under strict control. With the utmost difficulty fresh troops were levied, and after a whole year devoted to preparations, Tiberius, accompanied by the young Germanicus, once more led the legions across the Rhine. This expedition amounted to little more than a military promenade. The Romans were now too wary to pursue the enemy into their forest fastnesses. At the end of a few weeks they retired behind the Rhine, which became once more the frontier of the Empire. Tiberius now returned to Rome to celebrate his triumph over the Pannonians. The citizens were reassured by this solemnity, and, reckless of recent losses, still believed in the invincibility of Roman arms. But the aged Augustus, sunk into a state of nervous despondency, was heard to exclaim, "Varus! Varus! give me back my legions."

Germanicus now assumed the command on the Rhine, while Tiberius was detained in Rome, and seemed more than ever secure of the succession; though it was rumored that Augustus chafed at the moroseness of his temper, and formed a gloomy augury of his career in power.

Conscious of his approaching end, the emperor, for the third time during his reign, ordered a census of the Empire to be taken. This was completed in 14 A. D. He spent the next few months in compiling a brief statement of his acts, which has most fortunately been preserved to modern times by its inscription on the wall of a temple still standing at Ancyra. This record extends over a period of fifty-eight years, and details with simple dignity all the undertakings he accomplished, the offices he served, the honors he enjoyed, his liberality and magnificence, his piety toward the gods, his patriotism in behalf of the city. His last summer was spent in moving gently from one villa to another, until death laid its hand upon him at Nola, 14 A. D. Tiberius hurried to his death-bed, and Livia gave out, whether truly or not, that he had arrived in time to receive his parting injunctions, and perform the last offices of filial piety. Augustus had arrived at the verge of seventy-seven, and had lived in safety with his ambitious consort for half a century. The vulgar surmise that Livia poisoned him seems hardly worth a thought, except to warn us against too easy belief in many surmises of the same sort which we shall hereafter meet with.

Chapter VII

THE REIGN OF TIBERIUS CÆSAR. 14-37 A. D.

THE Christian era, the date of the birth of Christ, has been assigned by the commonly received chronology to the year 753 of the city; but it is now ascertained that it ought to have been fixed four years earlier, that is, in the year 5 B. C., or 749 U. C., at which time Quirinius or Cyrenius was first governor of Syria. The early Christian writers asserted that at the moment of the Divine Birth all the world was at peace. This statement can scarcely be accepted as literally true, since there hardly ever was a time when, either on the frontiers or in some one of the provinces, warlike operations were not in progress. Yet the reign of Augustus was essentially a period of peace. All civil strife was at an end, and there was no powerful nation or state with which Rome was engaged in deadly contest. The Roman peace, *Pax Romana,* as it was proudly called, reigned over the vast extent of the Empire, and this, when contrasted with the centuries of unresting warfare which had gone before, made a deep impression on the minds of the Romans. The poetry of the Augustan Age echoes with jubilant strains in honor of it. The transition of the Roman mind from aspirations of unlimited aggression to views of mere repression and control was sudden, but not the less permanent.

From this time forth an attack upon any foreign power became the exception to the settled policy of the rulers, and the people could hardly be roused even to avenge a national dishonor. The frontiers were now well defined, fortified, and garrisoned, and still further protected in many places by zones of depopulated country, or nominally independent states in their front.

For forty-four years, from the battle of Actium to the death of Augustus, the control of this vast and peaceful Empire had been wielded by a single hand. The emperor had chosen his counselors from among men of the second rank; his generals from among the members of his own family. Thus, neither in the state nor in the army had any of the old nobility the opportunity of attaining to such prominence as might have encouraged him to advance his claim as a rival candidate for the throne. No attempt of the kind was made. The decease of Augustus and the accession of Tiberius were announced to, and accepted by, the soldiers. The only precaution taken was to assassinate the wretched Agrippa Postumus in his secluded exile.

Tiberius at once summoned the Senate. The testament of Augustus declared him heir to all his private fortune, and this was readily accepted as a devolution of his public preëminence. The consuls and all the officers, both of the state and of the army, swore obedience to him as their imperator. All the remaining functions of imperial power were heaped upon Tiberius, and after a slight show of resistance, he consented to become the chief of the Roman people. At the same time, first funeral honors, and next divine honors, were eagerly decreed to the body and the soul of the deceased Augustus. The apotheosis of dead emperors became henceforth a recognized institution of the state.

Before Tiberius was secure of his position at Rome, the discontent of the legions on the Danube and the Rhine broke out into open mutiny. They complained of their long service, their slender pay, and the total lack of plunder. The emperor dispatched his son Drusus to Pannonia, and by the accident of an opportune eclipse he was enabled to quiet the disturbance with some slight concessions.

On the Rhine, Germanicus was placed in great danger. His legions proposed to carry him in triumph to Rome and make him emperor. He with difficulty repressed their enthusiasm, and, in order to divert their thoughts, led them into the heart of Germany to recover the eagles lost by Varus. This expedition, like so many others, returned at the close of the season without the gain of any solid advantage.

Tiberius remonstrated with the young Cæsar, who none the less renewed the attempt in the following year with better success. On this occasion the resistance offered by Arminius was weakened by tribal dissensions. The land and sea armaments united their forces, and were able to visit the scene of the disaster in the Teutoburg forest, where they buried the corpses of their countrymen and recovered two of the eagles lost by Varus. Next spring Germanicus made a third campaign over the same ground, in the course of which he recovered the last of the Varian eagles, and succeeded in defeating the full force of Arminius in a pitched battle. In both these campaigns heavy loss was suffered by the detachment of Roman troops which returned from the war by sea; and Tiberius complained, with increasing vehemence, of these expensive and bootless enterprises.

Germanicus had proved himself an able general, yet his recall from his northern command was determined on. The provinces of Asia needed the presence of a proconsul of more than usual dignity. Cappadocia and Commagene were to be reduced to the form of provinces. Syria and Judæa were uneasy under the weight of their taxation. The Parthians would be more loyal to their engagements if they were once more overawed by the presence of a near relative of the emperor's, the vicegerent and representative of his father's majesty and power.

Germanicus not unwillingly undertook this Oriental mission, visiting with interest the celebrated sites of Greece and Western Asia, and winning the good-will of everybody by his gentleness and affability. After placing the diadem on the head of the Armenian king in his own capital, and settling the affairs of Commagene and Cappadocia, he amused himself with a tour through Egypt. Throughout this prolonged journey he was accompanied and jealously watched by Cnæus Piso, a noble of high rank, appointed by the emperor with the title of adjutor. On his return from Egypt, Germanicus sickened and died of a wasting illness. The people, who loved him as heartily as they detested Tiberius, were fully persuaded that he had been poisoned; and when it was found that Piso had profited by the death of his superior to seize upon his vacant appointment, that noble was promptly summoned to appear before the Senate and justify his conduct. Piso returned to stand his trial; but when the time came for him to make his defense, he was found dead, with his throat cut and his bloody sword beside him. There seems no reason to doubt that he committed suicide, but popular rumor asserted that Tiberius had caused him to be assassinated to silence any testimony against himself.

The death of Piso points our attention to the antagonism which now began to make itself felt between the old aristocracy of the Republic and the growing power of the Empire. The number of these illustrious families had been greatly thinned by the civil wars; the pride and self-assertion of those who survived were only the more intensified. To an Æmilius, a Calpurnius, a Lepidus, or a Piso, the son of Octavius was no more than a plebeian imperator raised to power by the breath of the commonalty. His pretensions to legitimate right they despised and repudiated. Each of them conceived that he had as good or better right to rule than the upstart whom fortune had placed in the ascendant. Piso doubtless deemed himself at least the natural equal of Tiberius.

Against the intrigues of these discontented nobles the emperors found it necessary to defend themselves by special measures of repression. Fifty years before the foundation of the Empire a law of majesty had been enacted for the protection of the tribunes. Any attack upon the person or the dignity of the tribune was declared to be an assault upon the majesty of the commonwealth, and was punished as treason against the state. Of this law Augustus availed himself to prevent the publication of pasquinades against the emperor, as well as to repress more serious attempts at sedition. Under Tiberius, however, the position of the emperor came to be regarded with increasing adulation, as one altogether sacred and apart from common men as that of the gods on Olympus. Not only attempts on the life of the emperor, but any words or writings which detracted from his unapproachable dignity, were treated as heinous crimes only to be compared with sacrilege. To inquire of a soothsayer into the years of the emperor was made treasonable; to speak a disrespectful or abusive word against the emperor was equally so.

When to a law of this sweeping nature was added a system of spying and informing, which was set on foot and encouraged by Tiberius, it is no matter of surprise that during his reign many of the nobles, both men and women, fell under its severe penalties. The informers were rewarded with a large share of the confiscated fortunes of their victims; and so degraded were many of the nobles that they did not scruple to acquire wealth in this way by preying upon their own order. By such mean and crafty devices Tiberius was enabled to mask for a time, under the forms of justice, the studied cruelty with which he broke down the independence of the class he feared and hated. "Greed, hatred, enjoyment of bloodshed,—in brief, all vicious and criminal passions were at their height under the early Empire."

Conscious of his own lack of commanding ability, morose and reserved by temperament, the emperor was intensely jealous of all who possessed the qualities in which he was most deficient. This feeling, soothed for a time by the death of the gallant and popular Germanicus, was soon revived against his widow Agrippina, who stood no less high in popular favor. His own son Drusus, though constantly employed in military affairs, was not loved by the Roman people, nor did the emperor regard him with any confidence or affection. Tiberius had indeed recalled him to Rome, and by conferring on him both the consulship and the tribunician power, had virtually associated him with himself in the Empire. But it was not on Drusus that he really leaned for support. The man on whom the emperor relied as his intimate counselor and useful instrument was Ælius Sejanus, the captain of the prætorian guards, a courtier of no high distinction in birth, accomplishments, or abilities—perhaps preferred for this very want of distinction.

Sejanus conceived the daring ambition of securing to himself the succession to the imperial throne. To effect this object, it would be necessary to destroy all the branches of the imperial family who might have legitimate claims to it. He began by removing Drusus by poison, having first debauched his wife Livilla, whom he hoped to marry after her husband's death, and so raise himself into the line of succession. He further fomented his master's ill-feeling against Agrippina and her family, to whom he imputed a spirit of restless intrigue. Lastly, he exerted all his influence to induce the emperor to withdraw from the vexations of public life at Rome to the voluptuous retreat of Capreæ, and to leave in his minister's hands the entire control of state affairs.

One good influence still exercised some restraint over the mind of Tiberius, distracted by fears and jealousies—that of his mother Livia. To her adroitness throughout the reign of Augustus, and especially at the moment of his death, he undoubtedly owed his own elevation. His obligations to her he had always acknowledged to the extent of almost allowing her to share his power. It is probably to her influence that we may attribute his one act of justice to the family of Germanicus in marrying that prince's daughter, a younger Agrippina, to Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus. From this union sprung the future Emperor Nero.

The elder Agrippina continued to live in constant fear of the tyrant, which her high spirit did not suffer her to conceal.

Tiberius at length rebelled against the pretensions of his mother, and mustered courage to forbid her to take part in public affairs, while he withdrew himself to Capreæ, and left Sejanus in sole possession of all ostensible power.

At last Livia died in her eighty-second, or, as some compute, in her eighty-sixth, year. Tiberius scarcely disguised his satisfaction, took no part in the funeral, and forbade her deification, which the Senate had obsequiously proposed.

Released from her restraining influence, he fell more than ever into the hands of his minister. The first act which marked this change for the worse was the dispatch of a harsh letter to the Senate denouncing the elder Agrippina and her son Nero, but leaving the assembly to guess what measures would be most pleasing to its master. The people thronged about the Senate-house, protesting that the letter was a forgery, and a foul conspiracy of Sejanus. The latter, however, profited by this movement to excite the fears of Tiberius, and induce him to command an inquiry into the political conduct of the widow and her children. Accusers were readily found; the trial was hurried through, and both mother and son were banished to the barren islands of Pandateria and Pontia. Agrippina is said to have resisted the attempt to remove her, and to have lost an eye in the struggle. Two other of her sons, Drusus and Caius, still remained, and these Tiberius retained about his own person at Capreæ; but at the suggestion of Sejanus, one of them, Drusus, was soon after dismissed from the island, and imprisoned in a dungeon at Rome.

Many of Agrippina's friends now fell under proscription, while Sejanus seemed to be advancing in his audacious projects, and rising still higher in favor. He was appointed consul jointly with the emperor, and encouraged to hope for a marriage with Livilla. The people whispered that Sejanus was emperor of Rome, while Tiberius was lord of one island only. The senators crowded about the leader of their debates with every demonstration of devotion, and when they decreed him consular powers for five years, he regarded it as a surrender of the government into his hands.

Tiberius, however, was becoming afraid of a favorite who had grown too powerful, and had already determined to overthrow him. After the lapse of a few months he resigned the consulship, and required Sejanus to do the same. He then announced his intention to visit Rome, and so played upon the fears and ambitions of his minister as to goad him into forming a plot for the emperor's assassination. Tiberius obtained proofs of this conspiracy, and then took into his confidence Macro, an officer of his bodyguard, whom he commissioned to take command of the prætorian guard. He further directed him to confer with the consuls, and to have the Senate convened. At this sitting a long and rambling letter from the emperor was read, in the course of which he complained of the solitude of the poor old Cæsar and his precarious position, and required one of the consuls to bring a military force to Capreæ and escort him to the city. The letter, after wandering from one subject to another, suddenly closed with an appeal to the consul to arrest Sejanus as a traitor. The ex-minister found himself hustled and seized by the chiefs of the Senate; Macro had already taken command of the prætorian guard, and, without further delay, Sejanus was dragged to the Mamertine prison, and there strangled. His remains were afterward cast out and publicly insulted in the streets, and his family and friends shared his fate in a general massacre.

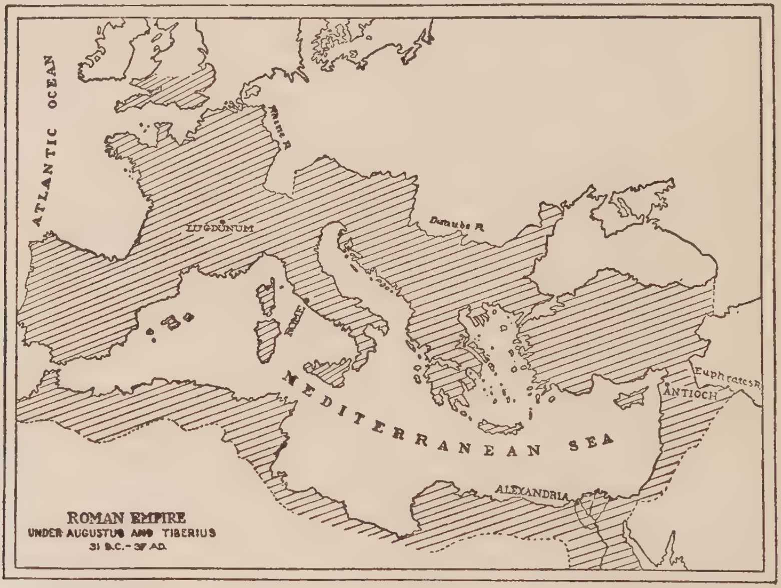
Tiberius watched for the telegraphic signals from Rome in an agony of suspense. The swiftest triremes lay ready to waft him to Gaul or Syria, should his combinations be frustrated. Even when he knew that his orders had been executed, he still lingered for months upon his lonely rock, while a relentless proscription was carried on by the Senate against all who could be deemed his enemies.

Early the following year, 32 A. D., Tiberius crossed the narrow strait which divides Capreæ from the mainland at Surrentum, and began his progress to Rome. The citizens joyfully prepared to welcome their emperor in their midst, but were rather astonished to learn that he had left the land, and was advancing in a galley up the Tiber, preceded by guards who rudely cleared away all spectators from the banks. In this strange fashion he arrived at Cæsar's gardens; but no sooner did he find himself once more beneath the hills of Rome than he turned his prow without landing, and never paused in his retreat till he had regained his island. The Romans were intensely mortified by this proceeding. Their indignation and disgust broke forth in loud murmurs against the emperor.

It has been conjectured with much probability that the strange conduct of Tiberius may have been due to a taint of hereditary insanity in the blood of the Claudii, which had been wont to break out in that family during many generations either in the form of extravagant pride or ungovernable violence. The ancients, however, considered that the morbid ferocity and unhappiness of this emperor were simply the natural penalty of the evil and licentious life which he led. Be this as it may, Tiberius was not alone in his despairing and miserable frame of mind. Some of the noblest Romans of his time were driven to suicide by a similar feeling of degradation and despair. Cocceius Nerva, a man of the highest character and attainments, occupying a high position in the state, enjoying a flourishing fortune and perfect health, deliberately starved himself to death. Arruntius and others imitated his example. This form of death was also imposed by the tyrant upon the young Drusus, who had for some time languished in the dungeons of the imperial palace, and was voluntarily chosen by Agrippina as the only escape from the miseries and bereavements of her life in exile. It was thus through his own perverseness and cruelty that Tiberius, as he approached the end of his life, found himself supported by only three surviving males of the lineage of Cæsar, and none of these gave any promise of political ability, or had received any training in public life. Among these three princes, who all stood in the position of his adopted sons, he must choose his successor. They were as follows: (1) Tiberius Claudius Drusus, born 10 B. C.—nephew of the emperor, and son of the elder Germanicus. He was reputed weak in mind, and had been excluded from public life by Augustus; he was, however, fond of books and literary pursuits. He afterward became the Emperor Claudius. (2) Caius, the younger son of Germanicus and Agrippina, born 12 A. D.—a favorite with the legions for his father's sake, and nicknamed by them Caligula, from the military buskin (caliga) which he wore as a child in the Rhenish camps. During his long residence in the palace at Capreæ he learned to dissemble, and by patient and obsequious service disarmed the jealousy of his great-uncle. He afterward became the Emperor Caligula. (3) Tiberius, surnamed Gemellus, born 19 A. D., son of the younger Drusus, who was starved in the vaults of the Palatine, and nephew of Caligula. He was made co-heir, with Caligula, of the emperor's property, but soon after the accession of the latter was put to death by his order.

As the end of Tiberius drew near, he became more and more dependent upon Macro, the captain of his bodyguard; but he steadily refused to nominate an heir to the Empire for fear his officers should transfer their devotion from himself to his destined successor. When at length he lay in a state of torpor resembling death, it is said that Macro made sure of the tyrant's departure by having him smothered under blankets. His death occurred on March 16, 37 A. D.

The character of Tiberius was execrated by the Romans. "Not that he was especially cruel or vicious. . . . He was unsocial, tactless, and economical,—qualities which would have made any emperor unpopular." The imperial arms, though little exercised, were everywhere respected. The embers of agitation in Africa and Gaul were quietly extinguished. The manners and arts of Rome extended their sway year by year deeper into the heart of Germany. The Parthians were overawed. Palestine was annexed, and the Jews found the imperial rule far more mild and equable than that of their own princes had been. In one important particular Tiberius changed the system under which the provinces of the Empire were governed. It had been the practice to change the proconsuls after two or three years of office. Tiberius left them sometimes unchanged for many years together; and to this cause, more perhaps than any other, we may attribute the exceptional felicity enjoyed by the Roman Empire during his reign.



Chapter VIII

THE REIGNS OF CAIUS CALIGULA AND CLAUDIUS, 37-54 A. D.

AT the age of twenty-five Caius Cæsar, commonly known as Caligula, assumed the reins of power. Young, handsome, and courteous, though utterly inexperienced, he was eagerly welcomed by the Senate, the army, and the people. His weakly constitution, his liability to fits, and the feverish excitability of his brain render it probable that his Claudian blood carried with it the germs of insanity. But at the outset of his career all men were charmed by the generosity and modesty of his conduct. After promising ample largesses to the people and the soldiers, he proclaimed an amnesty to all political prisoners and exiles. He publicly burned the informations put into his hands by the spies and sycophants of the previous reign, and proscribed their vicious authors. He allowed the political writings which had been suppressed by the Senate to be freely circulated. He revised the roll of the Senate and the knights, bestowing his favor on those most worthy of it. Lastly, he earned the popular applause by the piety with which he conveyed the ashes of his mother and brother from their lonely resting-places to the mausoleum of Augustus. It was a relief to the citizens that he did not insist on the deification of the hated Tiberius.

On assuming the consulship he promised to devote himself to public business, and during the next two months his just and liberal measures proved that he had redeemed his pledge. On the arrival of his birthday on August 1 this industry was exchanged for profuse and magnificent hospitality, at which the emperor himself presided, with his sisters at his side. Business henceforth gave place to enjoyment. With a wild frenzy of delight he plunged into gross and voluptuous dissipation, which soon upset his weak constitution and laid him on a sick-bed in imminent danger of death. The interest taken in his health, the anxiety shown for his recovery, turned his weak head, and filled him with exaggerated notions of the importance and sacredness of his life. His first act on recovering was to put to death his nephew Tiberius.

Macro, the prætorian captain, had introduced him as emperor to the army and to the Senate, and had since then steadfastly supported him. Macro's wife, Ennia, had surrendered herself to his passion. These two were next executed by his order without trial of any kind. The illustrious Silanus, whose daughter the emperor had married, was recalled from Africa, arraigned on some charge, and summarily ordered to kill himself. These cruel deeds were most likely prompted by the requirements of his reckless extravagance.

The death of his sister, Drusilla, with whom he carried on an incestuous commerce, further embittered him, and drove him on to madness. After decreeing to her divine honors by the name of Panthea, the crazy monster declared that if any man dared to mourn for her death, he should be punished, for she had become a goddess; if anyone rejoiced at her deification, he should be punished also, for she was dead.

This incident illustrates the logical character of Caligula's mind, which frankly asserted itself in his system of government. Augustus and Tiberius had learned in the school of experience to indulge their subjects with a pretense of independence. Caius knew himself to be the master of a nation of slaves, and it pleased him to assert his autocracy openly, in Oriental fashion, such as he had learned from Herod Agrippa, King of Judæa, with whom he was brought up in the palace of Tiberius. It pleased him also that everything about him should be on a grand imperial scale. He completed the temple of Augustus, restored the theater of Pompey, and laid the foundations of an amphitheater of his own. He designed and began the noble aqueduct called Aqua Claudia, a work of manifest utility, whose ruins still bear witness to its splendor. One of his extravagant freaks was the throwing of a bridge or gallery from his own residence on the Palatine across the valley to the Capitol, in order, as he said, that he might be next neighbor to Jupiter, with whom he claimed equal divinity. A similar undertaking was the construction of a bridge across the bay of Baiæ from Bauli to Puteoli. A spit of land already existed on the one side, and a mole 1200 feet long on the other. These two points were connected by a bridge of boats, and across the causeway so constructed the emperor led a body of troops in triumph. The show was witnessed by a crowd of spectators, many of whom fell into the water and were drowned, the emperor, it is asserted, being delighted by the accident, and forbidding them to be rescued.

Tasteless extravagance was now the order of the day, and nowhere more so than at the tables of the rich. Dishes of costly rarity were sought for, such as peacocks, nightingales, and the tongues and brains of phænicopters (possibly flamingoes). Caius is reported to have spent as much as $400,000 on a single feast, exclaiming, at its conclusion, "A man should be frugal except he be a Cæsar." His vanity led him to aim at preëminence not only in gluttony, but also in charioteering and in oratory. Envious of the fame of the ancient heroes of the Republic, he cast down their statues, and deprived the images of illustrious houses of their distinguishing marks, the Cincinnati of their ringlets, the Torquati of their golden collars. He forbade the last descendant of the great Pompeius to bear the surname of Magnus; and he rejected with contumely the works of Virgil and Livy from the public libraries.

From such unworthy acts of brutality he roused himself, in the year 39 A. D., to undertake a spirited enterprise. Lentulus Gætulicus, proconsul of the Rhenish provinces, had defied Tiberius, and refused to surrender his command. It is probable that he was engaged in a conspiracy with persons of distinction at Rome against the new emperor. Caius, however, marched into Gaul, and to the frontier of the Rhine, put down the plot, cut off the leaders of it, and banished his own sisters, whom he found to be implicated.

In the following year he announced his intention of invading Britain. At Gessoriacum (Boulogne) he marshaled his legions, and reviewed them from a galley at sea; then the trumpets sounded, and the emperor issued the absurd command to pile arms and pick up shells on the beach. These "spoils of the ocean," as Caius called them, were forwarded to the Senate at Rome, with the order to deposit them among the treasures of the Capitol.

Having thus, as he pretended, reduced the ocean to submission, he returned to Rome to celebrate a gorgeous triumph. As he approached the city, he learned that the Senate had failed to pass the necessary decrees; and, filled with fury against that body, he gave up the idea of a triumph. His treatment of the nobles now became unbearably insolent. One day he threatened to make his horse a consul. Another, he laughingly suggested to the consuls as a good joke, that with one word he could cause their heads to roll on the floor.

The end of this monstrous principate was drawing near, not from general indignation of the Senate or people, but from resentment at a private affront. Cassius Chærea, a tribune of the prætorians, vowed vengeance on the emperor for some gibe with which he had lightly stung him. Associates who had grievances to avenge were soon found, and the conspirators only waited for the propitious moment to strike the blow. Four days did Caius preside at the theater surrounded by the men who had sworn to slay him. At last, as he was passing through a vaulted passage from the palace to the circus, Chærea and another tribune, Sabinus, fell upon him and struck him down. Others of the party kept off the German bodyguards till he had been dispatched with thirty wounds. The assassins all escaped, and the body was hastily buried, 41 A. D. The Senate, to which the tyrant's death was promptly announced, was thrown into confusion, and undecided how to act. They could only agree to destroy the infant child of the late Cæsar and its mother Cæsonia, for they wanted to restore the Republic. The decision, however, was taken out of their hands. Some of the guards roaming through the palace discovered, hiding behind a curtain, a person whom they recognized as Claudius, the uncle of their murdered chief. The existence of these guards depended on the maintenance of the imperial *régime*. They led him, more dead than alive with fear, to the camp of the prætorians, and demanded a largess. He promised lavishly. Then the soldiers bore him on their shoulders to the curia, and required the senators to accept him as the last living representative of the Cæsars. All opposition quailed before the will of the soldiers; the offices and honors of the Empire were at once heaped upon the man who, up to that day, had been deemed unfit to discharge the meanest functions of civil or military government. Any transient hope of restoring the Republic collapsed. The treasury and the granaries were empty; and if Rome did not appoint an emperor, she must accept a dictator.

Claudius at once avenged his nephew's death by the execution of Chærea and Sabinus, but his timid nature shrunk from bloodshedding, and he preferred to propitiate his nobles rather than attempt to crush them. He was careful, however, to secure his own life. Thus reassured, Claudius proclaimed an amnesty to all political exiles, and displayed in many particulars a kind and generous spirit. He favored the provinces and thus, like Julius Cæsar, he tended to equalize the position of all his subjects.

Claudius began at once to devote his time and his powers to the public service. Though his wits may have been slow, his industry was untiring and his zeal sincere. In the administration of justice he would tire out his legal assessors by his unwearied application to business. If some of his measures were pedantic and old-fashioned, others displayed a breadth of view and liberality of spirit unknown since the time of the great Julius. In the control of the provincial governors, and the vindication of the majesty of Rome on all the frontiers of the Empire, he was no less successful. But his most brilliant enterprise was the invasion and actual subjugation of Britain. In the year 43 A. D. Aulus Plautius landed with four legions, probably on the coast of Kent, and having overcome all resistance, crossed the Thames into the country of the Trinobantes, who occupied Essex and Hertfordshire. Here the emperor joined the army, and so active were his movements that within sixteen days he had subdued this people and planted a colony, Camulodunum (now Colchester), on the site of their capital.

Claudius then returned at once to Rome, but his lieutenants continued to prosecute the conquest with success. Vespasianus reduced the western country as far as the Exe and the Severn. Ostorius Scapula advanced to the Wye and the foot of the Welsh Mountains. The Britons, headed by Caractacus, made a gallant but fruitless resistance. They were utterly routed, and their leader, who had escaped from the field, was soon after betrayed to the Romans, and carried off to Rome to figure in the triumph which Claudius had justly earned. This triumph was conducted after a new fashion. In the course of it the captive Caractacus was allowed to address the emperor in a speech not unworthy of a patriot; and the latter, to his credit, spared his prisoner's life.

In the East Claudius effected a new settlement of the frontier provinces. Many suppliant princes who had thronged the court of Tiberius and Caius were sent off to govern their native realms in dependence upon the sovereign Empire. Among these was Herod Agrippa, who was not only confirmed in his sway over Galilee, but received in addition the province of Palestine. The Jews, who had been on the brink of rebellion, owing to the threat of Caius to set up his statue in their Temple, were pleased with this concession, and celebrated the return of Agrippa to Jerusalem as a national triumph. The reign of Herod was not of long duration. In the following year, 44 A. D., at Cæsarea, after addressing the people, he was saluted by the Hellenizing section of them as a god. His death by a terrible disease followed within a few days; his son was retained in Italy as a hostage, and Judæa became once more part of the proconsular province of Syria. For several generations the Jews had been accustomed to roam beyond the narrow limits of their own country. Wherever trade was active, in the great cities of the Euphrates, in Alexandria, in the ports of Greece and Asia Minor, they had settled in large numbers.

It is important to observe here that the materials for the history of this period are far from trustworthy. Even the great Tacitus is not to be implicitly relied on. There is distinct reason to believe that the affairs of Claudius were studiously misrepresented. The most popular account of them was derived from the scandalous memoirs of Agrippina, which were greedily accepted and repeated by the ribald anecdotists of the next generation. Her aim in writing them seems to have been to blast the fame of Messalina (whose vacant place she filled), to discredit Claudius, and to magnify her own merits and those of her son Nero.

On the death of Messalina there ensued a great struggle in the palace for the succession to the imperial couch. Claudius had allowed the management of affairs to fall, for the most part, into the hands of freedmen, all of whom were of Greek origin. Narcissus, Callistus, and Pallas put forth each a candidate for marriage with the emperor. Agrippina, who gained the prize, is said to have owed it even more to her own seductive arts than to the favor of her powerful advocate, Pallas. This second heroine of the name was a daughter of Germanicus, sister of Caius Caligula, and niece of the reigning emperor. The objections to the marriage of an uncle with his niece were easily overruled.

Agrippina began at once to exert all her influence to secure the succession to her own son by a former husband, Domitius Ahenobarbus. She spared no pains, and probably no falsehood, to disgust her facile spouse with the memory of the wretched Messalina, by whom he had a son named Britannicus. Claudius consented to adopt the young Domitius into his family, by the name of Nero, placed him on a level with his own child, and allowed him to be betrothed to Octavia, the sister of Britannicus. Agrippina, who had been born among the Rhenish camps, was careful to keep up her interest and popularity with the army; and for this purpose founded the military colony of Colonia Agrippinensis, now Cologne. She took her seat beside the emperor at all military spectacles, and had her image stamped with his upon the coins.

By the time that Nero, now in his sixteenth year, was married to Octavia, the plans of Agrippina had ripened. The constitution of the emperor, weakly from the first, was beginning to break up, and his wife resolved to hasten his end. She took counsel with the infamous Locusta, who made a profession of the art of poisoning. During a journey taken by the emperor into Campania for the benefit of his health, she found means of introducing poison into a dish of mushrooms, of which he was very fond. Perhaps the dose was too strong, for he vomited, and the drug failed of its effect. Agrippina hastily secured the services of the physician in attendance, who thrust a poisoned feather down the patient's throat under pretense of assisting him, and the effect was sufficiently rapid, for he died in 54 A. D.

Chapter IX

THE REIGN OF NERO. 54-68 A. D.

THE reign of Claudius had been, on the whole, a period of general prosperity and contentment for the Empire. The machinery of government, both in the city and in the provinces, had worked smoothly and steadily. The success of the legions in Britain and in Germany had added luster to the Roman name. Both the Senate and the populace had been treated with consideration and generosity. Yet in spite of his inoffensive character, the feeble dullness of Claudius, and his want of self-respect in the matter of his wives, brought upon him more contempt and odium than all the vices of the Cæsars before him. This feeling was carefully encouraged by Agrippina, in order to lower the estimation of Britannicus, and enhance the popular expectation of her own child, Domitius Nero.

Seneca, the philosopher, had been charged with the education of the prince. Burrhus, the prefect of the prætorians, had undertaken to maintain his claims to the Empire. With the help of these two men, Agrippina found no difficulty in thrusting Britannicus aside, and installing the upstart Nero on the imperial throne. The beauty of his person, the grace of his demeanor, and his reputation for rare talents and accomplishments, inclined the Romans to welcome him as their ruler. These brilliant hopes seemed for some time destined to be fulfilled. Under Seneca's guidance, aided by the manly sense of Burrhus, Nero held the balance between the Senate and the people, and gratified both. His teachers urged upon him counsels of moderation, courtesy, and clemency, which he carried out in practice. The first five years of Nero's reign, the famous "*Quinquennium Neronis,*" were long celebrated as an era of virtuous and able government. The wise statesmen, in whose hands Nero was little more than an instrument, were content simply to protect the machinery of government from disturbance, and the Roman world enjoyed the privilege of being ruled with a "masterly inactivity."

The young emperor's worst enemy was his own mother, Agrippina. From the day of his accession she resolved to share his state and power. She was borne in the same litter with him; she stamped the coins with her own head beside his; she received ambassadors, and sent dispatches to foreign courts. Finding that her influence upon her son was altogether evil, Seneca and Burrhus brought about the disgrace and dismissal of Pallas, her freedman and confidant, on a charge of treason. Agrippina threatened to use her influence with the army, and even hinted at setting up Britannicus as the rightful heir to the Empire. These threats roused Nero's jealousy against the young prince; the services of the vile Locusta were again employed, and the innocent stripling was poisoned at a banquet in the palace in the presence of the guilty emperor.

The schism between the mother and son became now complete. Her intrigues with the chiefs of the army were disclosed to him, and he retaliated by withdrawing the guard from her house, and never paying her a formal visit without the precaution of being surrounded by soldiers. It was rumored that both mother and son entertained designs upon the life of the other. Nero at length insisted upon his mother's conduct being inquired into. She was declared innocent of conspiring against him, and she in turn had the satisfaction of bringing some of her accusers to punishment. As time went on, the young emperor sunk more and more into licentious and extravagant habits; by the former what remained to him of natural good feeling was becoming fast extinguished; by the latter he was being entangled in necessities, which could not fail to drive him to tyrannical and bloody excesses. If he still ingratiated himself with the people by remissions of taxation, he was about to indemnify himself by the proscription of the wealthiest of the nobles, and the confiscation of many vast estates.

The most beautiful woman then in Rome, and one of the most licentious, was Poppæa Sabina, wife of the dissolute Salvius Otho. She entangled Nero in an amour with her, and suffered him to send her husband to a distant government in Lusitania, while she employed all her arts to obtain the divorce of Octavia, and her own elevation to the imperial couch. The great obstacle in her way was the power and influence of the empress-mother, who angrily supported Octavia in her rights. The tyrant now determined on the murder of his own mother. He contrived that as she crossed the smooth waters of the bay of Baiæ her galley should founder.

To the disappointment of her son, Agrippina escaped to land, and sent a message to him. He assembled his ministers, and at last extracted from them the counsel for which he was longing. Seneca and Burrhus felt that the palace must be relieved from the intrigues which had so long harassed it. They consented to complete the frustrated crime by the hand of assassins. A pretext was easily invented, the order was given, and the empress was dispatched without delay. As she lay prostrate before her murderers, "Strike," she cried, "the womb that bore a monster." Nero is reported to have himself inspected the corpse, and expressed his admiration of its beauty. Such were the horrors over which Roman society then shuddered and gloated.

Poppæa now obtained entire sway over the tyrant, living with him openly as his mistress, and encouraging him to give himself up to the coarsest and most disgusting pleasures. It was not till three years later that she cared to obtain the divorce and exile of Octavia, her own release from Otho, and finally her marriage with Nero. Installed as empress, she bore him one child, and died soon after from the effects of a kick inflicted by her husband.

The faithful Burrhus was relieved by death from the sight of his prince's increasing depravity in 62 A. D. Seneca retired from court. Nero was not sorry to be relieved of the restraint of his presence. Casting aside the stately traditions of the Roman nobility, the emperor now strove to make himself the idol of the populace, the scum of all nations with which Rome was inundated. He descended into the arena, contending with professional singers and musicians, and taking part in the games of the circus. The rabble shouted with delight, but the nobles shuddered at the degradation of their order.

It was in the summer of the year 63 A. D. that the great fire broke out which consumed six out of the fourteen quarters of Rome. Springing up in the eastern portion of the city, and fanned by an east wind, it swept away all the buildings which occupied the hollows below the Palatine. For six days the fire burned furiously, and scarcely had it died down when another fire began in the opposite quarter, and consumed all the region between the Pincian and the Capitoline. Many venerable temples, works of art, and monuments of antiquity perished in the flames. It was asserted that incendiaries had been seen at work, and, on being questioned, had declared that they acted under orders. It was rumored that the emperor watched the fire from his palace, and amused himself with enacting the drama of the destruction of Troy in view of it. The belief gained ground that he had himself caused the conflagration as a spectacle for his own wanton enjoyment.

So deep was the indignation of the people that the throne of Cæsar seemed to rock upon its base. Nero hastened into the streets, distributed in aid of their present necessities all the money he had at hand; and then, with characteristic cruelty, determined to divert public attention by a persecution which should transfer the odium from himself to his innocent victims, but his persecution was only a sudden outburst of savagery, differing greatly from the persecution of Diocletian, for in Nero's time the Romans knew but little about the Christians. The Jews were not popular in the city; but the new sect of Christians, which had lately arisen among them, was beginning to excite alarm by the number of conversions it had effected among the highest class of Romans. It is probable that the Jews would fan any suspicions directed against the new sect. At any rate, Nero accused the Christians of having caused the conflagration, and commanded their execution. Numbers of victims were seized, wrapped in pitched cloth, and set on fire, so as to burn like torches. Even the refuse of the Roman mob was at last moved to pity, but their first fury had been diverted from the emperor, and it subsided into vague distrust or careless contempt.

Meanwhile Nero continued from time to time to replenish his coffers by the proscription of the wealthiest nobles. In spite of the jealousy with which the Cæsars had regarded them, this class had contrived to accumulate great possessions, especially in land. It is said that half the soil of the province of Africa was held in fee by no more than six proprietors. As one after another was attacked by the tyrant, the survivors became alarmed, and conspired against him. Many of the chief people in Rome joined the plot, at the head of which stood Calpurnius Piso, who hoped, in case of success, to be elevated by the Senate to the throne. Seneca and his nephew Lucan gave their adhesion to the scheme: but the combination was betrayed and collapsed without ever striking a blow. Seneca and Lucan were required to take their own lives. The people seem to have had no sympathy with what was, after all, a purely aristocratic faction. They still preferred the names of Marius, of Cæsar, and even of Nero, the champions of the plebs, to any which the Senate would deign to invoke. It was not until the effects of Nero's despotism reached the provinces that rebellion became successful.

The ease with which this senatorial revolt had been quelled betrayed Nero still further to his ruin. He felt relieved from all restraint imposed by the opinion of Roman society. His vain exhibitions of himself and his supposed accomplishments disgusted even slaves and foreigners. During a tour which he made in Greece, the Romans heard with indignation of their emperor contending for prizes at the Grecian festivals. All classes were thoroughly weary of him, but it was reserved neither for the Senate nor the people of Rome to effect a change. A third force, that of the army on the distant frontiers, was preparing to assert its power. Such a catastrophe as a provincial governor marching in arms against his imperator and driving him from the throne had never yet occurred, though in more than one instance the Cæsars had descended with irresistible might upon their lieutenants, and snatched from them the power which began to be too great.

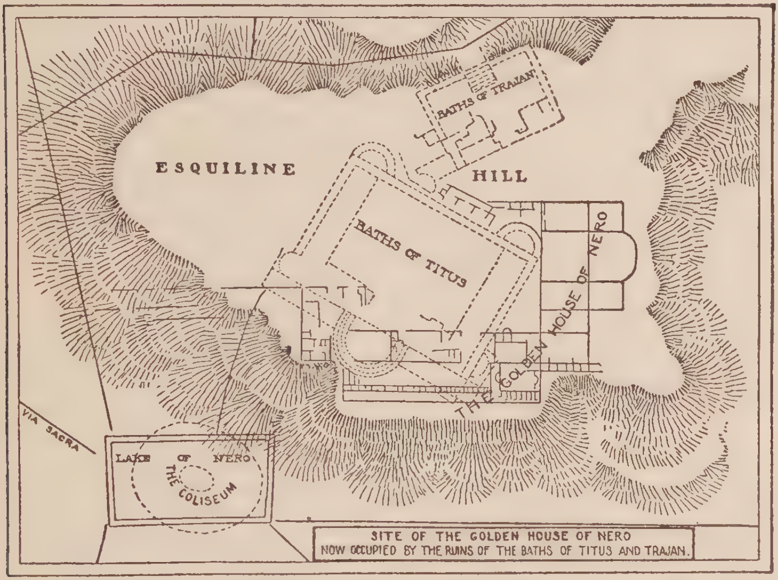
In the year 68 A. D. Nero returned to Rome from Greece, urged by repeated warnings from his freedman Helius, whom he had left as governor of the city. He had amused the Greeks, he had pretended to compliment them with the gift of freedom: he had at least begun the useful work of cutting through the Isthmus of Corinth. On the other hand, he had robbed them of thousands of statues and artistic treasures for the decoration of his own capital. He had also offended them by his persecution at Rome of the stoic philosophers Seneca, Barea, Thrasea, and others. The gravity and earnestness of these men, in an age which had heard the early teachings of the Gospel, began to draw men's minds away from the contemplation of the tyrant's greatness. Such a fact was sufficient to excite his jealousy against them, as against the Christians. Both philosophers and Christians were really quiet, inoffensive subjects: both submitted patiently to the emperor's ruthless edicts; but while the sufferings of the men of science passed into oblivion, those of the men of faith left a burning memory behind them, which brought about in course of time the greatest of all social and moral revolutions.

Nero returned to find his capital rebuilt and beautified in Grecian style, and to occupy his splendid palace, his Golden House, as it was called, which extended its luxurious precincts not only over the Palatine, but over portions of the Cælian and Esquiline as well.

Gardens, lakes, baths, pleasure-grounds, were included in the imperial domains, with bridges and galleries to connect the various mansions. "Now at last," said Nero, "I am lodged as a man should be," and the saying was remembered against him.

Meanwhile plots were rife in the armies of Spain and Gaul, and in the city the temper of the nobles was gloomy, that of the mob uncertain.

The emperor returned in excellent spirits and entered Naples, Antium, and Rome in a succession of triumphs, but only to hear the news that a revolt was imminent. Galba, the governor of Hither Spain, was in league with Vindex of Farther Gaul. In his childhood the great Augustus had let fall to him the words, "You, too, shall one day taste of empire." He was now in his seventy-third year. It was upon Vindex that Nero first fixed his attention. He called upon Virginius to lead the legions of Germania against him. The soldiers were loyal, though their general was not; they cut the legions of Vindex to pieces, and the rebel leader perished with his troops. Then they changed their minds, and proposed to raise their own commander to the purple, but Virginius preferred to follow in the wake of Galba, and thus the two great provinces of the West prepared to march against Rome.



SITE OF THE GOLDEN HOUSE OF NERO
NOW OCCUPIED BY THE RUINS OF THE BATHS OF TITUS AND TRAJAN.

Some months elapsed before the legions of Gaul and Spain could reach the heart of Italy. Nero seemed incapable of devising any serious defense, and during this period of suspense displayed the contemptible weakness of his character. When the danger became imminent, he tore his hair and robes, and cried aloud in abject terror. Abandoned by all men, he had no recourse left but suicide; no guard or gladiator could be found to pierce his breast; even his casket, which contained the poison supplied to him by Locusta, had been stolen. When night came on, he took horse with one or two attendants, and escaped from the city to the neighboring villa of his freedman Phaon. Here he lingered a few hours in utter prostration of spirit, when news arrived that the Senate, on hearing of his flight, had proclaimed him a public enemy, and sentenced him to a shameful death. Taking two daggers from his breast, he tried again and again to nerve himself to the fatal deed, but it was not till the sound of horses' hoofs was heard, and the messengers of death were plainly closing upon him, that he placed a weapon to his breast and bade his slave Epaphroditus drive it home, saying, " Pity that such an artist should die! "

Nero perished on June 9, 68 A. D., at the age of thirty years and six months, in the fourteenth year of his reign. His child by Poppæa had died in infancy, and a later marriage had proved unfruitful. With him the stock of the Julii, refreshed as it had been by grafts from the Octavii, the Claudii, and the Domitii, became extinct. Each of the six Cæsars had married repeatedly, Claudius as often as six times; many of these unions had been fruitful, yet no descendant of any survived. A large proportion of them had fallen victims to political jealousy. Such was the price paid by the emperor's family for their splendid inheritance. The Empire, however, had enjoyed, for a hundred years, immunity from civil discord and promiscuous bloodshed, till the secret was discovered that a prince could be created elsewhere than at Rome, and from this time the succession of the Roman emperors was most commonly effected by the distant legions, and seldom without violence and slaughter.

THE DEATH OF NERO

"Pity that such an artist should die"

Painting by E. Kaempfer

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Chapter X

CONTEST FOR THE EMPIRE. 68-69 A.D.

SERVIUS SULPICIUS GALBA had been proclaimed imperator by the legions in Spain on April 13, almost two months before the actual fall of Nero. On hearing of the emperor's death, he advanced to Narbo, where he met the envoys charged by the consuls and the Senate to acknowledge his claim to empire. He entered Rome as a victorious general on January 1 of the following year. Galba was a man of ancient family, a successful soldier, and a strict disciplinarian, but he possessed no grace of manner to persuade, nor force of genius to command. He felt insecure of the obedience of the great proconsuls, with their numerous legions posted on the Rhine and the Euphrates. He therefore, with the help of some of the chief citizens, who went through the form of an election, associated with himself in power Piso Licinianus, a noble of distinction. The new Cæsar, however, was as austere and unpopular as Galba himself, and the emperor's parsimony toward the soldiers, who expected a liberal donative, grievously disappointed them.

No man in Rome was so mortified by Piso's elevation as Otho. This noble, whom Nero had removed to Lusitania when he took from him his wife Poppæa, had reëntered Rome in Galba's train.

He at once took advantage of the discontent which was rife among the troops, and as early as January 14, the fifth day after Piso's election, his intrigues had so far succeeded that the prætorians were prepared to carry him to their camp at nightfall, and present him to the people as the choice of the soldiers in the morning. But Otho acted with more deliberation. On the morning of the 15th, Galba was sacrificing before the temple of Apollo on the Palatine, when the aruspex informed him that the signs were inauspicious, and portended a foe to his household. Otho was standing by, and accepted the words as an omen. He quitted the emperor's side, and descended into the Roman Forum. Here he was met by a handful of soldiers, who hailed him as imperator, and with drawn swords bore him to the prætorian camp. The revolt was at once complete.

Galba had not yet finished his sacrifice when the report of the mutiny reached him. Both soldiers and people appeared to be indifferent, and indisposed to arm either for or against the imperator. By the time that Galba reached the Forum he was met by the tumultuous band of the prætorians advancing with Otho in their midst. A single cohort surrounded Galba, but they quickly made common cause with their comrades. The emperor's litter was overturned at the Curtian pool beneath the Capitol, and there Galba was hacked to pieces. The prætorians, fully sensible of their own importance, demanded to choose their own prefects. The Empire had in fact become a military republic.

The sudden fall of this unfortunate ruler must have caused great disappointment to all the more sober citizens. Such among them as were superior to the popular illusion in favor of a prince of the Julian race, to which a kind of divine right seemed already to attach, might well have imagined that one of the most able and experienced of their military chiefs would have held sway over the people and the legions with a firm and equal hand. The men who now governed the provinces, nobles by birth, senators in rank, judges and administrators as well as captains by office, represented the highest and largest training of the Roman character, for they combined a wide experience of men and affairs with the feelings of a high-born aristocracy and the education of polished gentlemen. They were conquerors, but they were also organizers. They were the true promoters of the Roman civilization which has left its impress upon Europe for so many centuries. The citizens felt assured that it must be through personal mismanagement that Galba, the representative of this class, had failed to command success. Tacitus, speaking solemnly in the name of his countrymen, after summing up his many excellent qualities, declares that all men would have pronounced him fit to rule had he but never ruled. Undoubtedly he should have condescended to bribe the soldiers at the outset; this would have given him a breathing-time, and afforded the only chance of controlling them. His successors took care not to fall into the same error. Some failed, notwithstanding, but others succeeded in consequence. Meanwhile the legions in Gaul and on the Rhine, under the command of Valens, Cæcina, and Vitellius, had already refused the military oath to Galba at the opening of the year. Vitellius was put forward as their candidate. The other chiefs of the army acquiesced in his superior claims, and consented to act as his lieutenants, and it was resolved at once to march upon Rome. Valens and Cæcina, as bolder and better captains, led the advance. Vitellius delayed his progress till he was assured of the adhesion of the Narbonensis and Aquitania to his cause. Otho, to whom the Senate had already taken the oath of fidelity, on hearing of the defection of Vitellius, offered to satisfy all his claims, and even to share the Empire with him. This offer Vitellius had the spirit to refuse.

As soon as it became evident that the Empire must be decided by the sword, Otho quitted Rome at the head of all the forces he could muster. He encountered the army of Cæcina as they were marching across the Cisalpine, and inflicted a severe check upon them. But when Valens, coming from the Western Alps, effected his junction with them, the two commanders assumed an attitude of defiance, and challenged Otho to a decisive battle at Bedriacum, near the confluence of the Adda and the Po. After a resolute and bloody contest, the victory remained with the Vitellians, whereupon the Othonians promptly admitted them to their camp, and made common cause with them. The position of Otho, who was surrounded by a band of faithful followers, might still not be desperate. But he determined to refrain from further resistance, and, hopeless as he was of preserving his life from his enemies, he sacrificed it with his own hand. Vitellius was lazily descending the Saone in a barge to avoid the fatigue of marching. At Lugdunum he met Valens and Cæcina, returned victorious from the Cisalpine, and thereupon he assumed the ensigns of empire. Some cruel executions followed, but not many. His edicts were moderate and popular. He waived for the present the title of Augustus, and positively refused that of Cæsar. He directed the diviners, the favorites of Otho and Nero, to be expelled from Italy, and forbade the Roman knights to disgrace their order by fighting in the arena. It was acknowledged that his wife Galeria and his mother Sextilia conducted themselves in their high positions with noble simplicity. During his advance into Italy he associated with himself Virginius, the most generous Roman of his day, who had openly espoused his cause. Yet the Romans were slow to forgive the victor in a battle against Romans. They declared that when he reached Bedriacum he showed no remorse at the death of so many of his countrymen. At last he would have entered the city, cloaked and booted, in the garb of war, at the head of his conquering troops; but from this atrocity he was dissuaded, and at the Milvian Bridge he laid down his military ensigns and traversed the streets in the civil prætexta, the soldiers following, but with sheathed swords.

Thus far the armies of the East had taken no part in the contest. Mucianus was proconsul of Syria. Second to him in command, but held in no less honor by the soldiers, was T. Flavius Vespasianus, a plebeian by birth, who with his son Titus was actively employed in Palestine. Both these generals had nominally acquiesced in the claims of Galba, of Otho, of Vitellius, in succession, but had given them no active support. Vespasian was inspired with a fanatical belief in his own good fortune, and under the influence of Oriental diviners became filled with the idea that he was destined for empire. Mucianus conceded to him the first place and lent him all his influence. On July 1, 69 A. D., the soldiers proclaimed him Imperator, to which the titles of Cæsar and Augustus were speedily added.

At the moment that the Syrian legions were proclaiming Vespasian, Vitellius was making his entry as emperor into Rome. So far as he took any part in public affairs, his behavior seems to have been modest and becoming. But he left the real government to be managed by Valens and Cæcina with gross oppression and extortion, while he surrendered himself wholly to the vilest debauchery. Within the few months of his power he spent nine hundred millions of sesterces, or about $35,000,000, in vulgar and brutal sensuality. The police of the city was neglected. The soldiers, uncontrolled, inflicted great hardships on the citizens. The freedmen Asiaticus and Polycletus became powers in the state. The degradation of Rome was complete: never before had she sunk so low in luxury and licentiousness. Three legions of Vespasian had crossed the Alps under Antonius Primus, who led the van of Mucianus's army. Valens and Cæcina, with a powerful force, were dispatched to oppose him. But Primus confidently challenged them to the combat, and defeated them on the plains of Bedriacum. Cremona fell into his hands, and was given over to plunder and burning.

Vitellius was still at Rome, groveling in his beastly indulgences, refusing to credit the account of his disasters, but wreaking his fears and jealousies upon the best of the nobles within his reach.

At last he quitted the city at the head of the prætorians. Primus crossed the Apennines to encounter him, while the populations of Central Italy rose against him. The two armies confronted one another in the valley of the Nar, but the Vitellians yielded without a blow. Terms were offered by Primus, which were confirmed by Mucianus, and greedily accepted by the defenseless emperor, who consented to retire quietly into private life. But in an evil moment he was persuaded to return to Rome, and there, at the head of a desperate faction, he attacked the adherents of Vespasian under his brother Sabinus, and drove them into the Capitol. An assault followed, in the course of which fire was freely used, and the most august sanctuary of the Roman people was burned to the ground. Vitellius watched the struggle from the palace opposite, the people from the Forum, and Velabrum beneath. The citizens were keenly reminded of the sack of Rome by the Gauls, for the soldiers of Vitellius came from Gaul, and were mostly of Gaulish extraction. At length these Gauls and Germans burst in with yells of triumph, and put the Flavian defenders to the sword. But Domitian, the younger son of Vespasian, who had taken refuge in the holy precincts, contrived to slip away in disguise. The Flavian legions, under Mucianus and Antonius Primus, were now steadily advancing upon the city. One last effort was made by the Vitellian soldiers and the rabble of the city to resist them, but in vain. The victors entered pell-mell with the vanquished, for the gates of Rome now stood always open, and the combat was renewed from street to street, the populace looking gayly on, applauding or hooting as in the theater and helping to drag the fugitives from the shops and taverns for slaughter. Rome had witnessed the conflicts of armed men in the streets under Sulla and Cinna, but never before such a hideous mixture of levity and ferocity. In somewhat over a year there had been four emperors proclaimed: three by the frontier armies and one by the prætorian guard.

Vitellius, on the taking of the city, had escaped from the palace to a private dwelling on the Aventine, but under some restless impulse he returned and roamed through his deserted halls, dismayed at the solitude and silence, yet shrinking from every sound and the presence of a human being. At last he was discovered, half-hidden behind a curtain, and ignominiously dragged forth. With his hands bound, his dress torn, he was hurried along, amid the scoffs of the multitude, and exposed to the insolence of the passing soldiery. Wounded and bleeding, he was urged on at the point of the lance; his head was kept erect by a sword held beneath to compel him to show himself, and to witness the demolition of his own statues. At last, after suffering every form of insult, he was dispatched with many wounds at the Gemoniæ, to which he had been thus brutally dragged. The death of Vitellius finally cleared the way for Vespasian, to whom, though still far distant, the senators decreed all the honors and prerogatives of empire. Primus and Mucianus adhered faithfully to him, and paid their court to his son Domitian as his acknowledged representative. Vespasian and Titus were appointed consuls at the commencement of the new year, and to a civil strife of eighteen months soon succeeded a stable pacification (69 A. D.). "This military revolution had some good results: it lessened the political value of the capital, and it ended in giving the Empire an able ruler. In fact, Vespasian was the first in a line of princes trained in the camp,—uncorrupted by the impure atmosphere of Rome, able, experienced, broad-minded,—who were to give the Empire its most prosperous era." [1]

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[1] Botsford, "History of Rome," p. 233.

Chapter XI

AFFAIRS IN THE ROMAN PROVINCES. 62-70 A.D.

OUR attention has been for some time confined to events whose interest centers in Rome itself. We must now make a short digression to notice three episodes of frontier fighting—the further subjugation of the Britons, the suppression of the mutiny of the Gaulish tribes, and the final conquest of Judæa.

After the defeat of Caractacus, the southern part of Britain, from the Stour, in the east, to the Exe and Wye, in the west, formed a compact and organized province, the government of which was directed from Camulodunum (Colchester).

Londinium (London) though neither colonized nor fortified, had already become a center of Continental trade, whence corn and cattle and handsome slaves were exported in exchange for the manufactures of the Belgian and Rhenish cities. Roads of earlier than Roman construction traversed the country from Dover and Richborough to Seaton and Brancaster, to the Severn, the Dee, and the Northern Ouse, and all of them passed through Londinium. Four legions occupied the country. The Second, which, under the command of Vespasian, had subdued the southwest, was quartered at Caerleon, on the Usk. The Ninth kept guard over the independent tribe of the Iceni at Brancaster, on the Stour. The Twentieth, at Chester, watched the Brigantes, who maintained their independence in the North. The Fourteenth was engaged in carrying on the conquest of North Wales. Numbers of Druids, escaped from France, together with their British colleagues, retreated before the conquerors into the sacred isle of Mona (Anglesea).

The Fourteenth legion, led by Suetonius Paulinus, having reached Segontium (Caernarvon), prepared rafts to carry the infantry over the Menai Strait, while the cavalry swam their horses across the channel. The Britons made a gallant resistance in defense of their liberty and their faith, but they were massacred in numbers by the Roman soldiery, and the Druidical worship was finally abolished.

Suetonius was suddenly recalled by news of disaster in his rear. The Iceni, headed by their queen Boadicea, who burned to avenge the insults offered by Romans to herself and her daughters, had burst in great multitudes across the Stour, had sacked and burned both Camulodunum and Verulamium, in Hertfordshire, putting the colonists to the sword; and when Suetonius appeared upon the scene he was unable to save Londinium from the like fate. The Britons vastly outnumbered the Roman legions, and, flushed with conquest, for some time harassed them severely. Suetonius, confident in the discipline of his troops, coolly watched his enemies as they encumbered themselves with plunder, and offered them battle on ground of his own choosing. The event proved that his confidence was well founded. Despite the eloquence and courage of Boadicea, the barbarians wavered and broke before the steady onset of the legions; 80,000 of them were slain, their queen committed suicide, and the revolt of the Iceni was subdued.

This outbreak had cost the Roman colony dear both in wealth and numbers. It is said that 70,000 of them perished. But these losses were quickly repaired. The Roman yoke, now firmly fixed, brought peace and prosperity to the country, whose wealth of flocks and mines was rapidly developed. Before the death of Nero, the Roman province extended to the Mersey and the Trent. The Britons had fought bravely for their freedom, but they were quick to perceive the advantages of a higher civilization, and submitted more readily than many other nations to their Roman conquerors.

We may now turn to the mutiny of the Gaulish auxiliaries. A large portion of the upper classes of Gaul had been thoroughly incorporated into the Roman Empire, and were reckoned as Roman citizens. From among these natives and the Roman colonists the legions were recruited which garrisoned the country, and watched the frontier of the Rhine. A yet larger portion of the population were still looked upon as subjects and Gauls, and from this class auxiliary troops were levied, which were brigaded with the legions, but occupied an inferior position. During the civil wars which followed the death of Nero, both Galba and Vitellius had drawn largely on the strength of the legions in Gaul; the auxiliaries in consequence found themselves in a great preponderance of numbers over the regular troops. Advantage was taken of this circumstance by Civilis, a Romanized Batavian, to seduce his countrymen from their allegiance, and incite them to claim the right of choosing an emperor for themselves. The legions on the Rhine adhered to the cause of Vitellius. Civilis and his Batavians declared for Vespasian, and the Gaulish auxiliaries throughout the Rhenish camps joined their forces to his. It soon appeared, however, that the movement was in reality directed toward the liberation of the country. Civilis himself was put forward as the chief of an independent empire. The steadiness with which the legions, weakened and ill commanded as they were, resisted this mutiny is well worthy of notice. Outnumbered in the field, they shut themselves up in strong camps and stood a siege. They were relieved, and before long again overmatched by the mutineers; but in the face of heavy odds they held the country bravely for Rome. As soon as Vespasian was firmly seated on the throne, he dispatched Mucianus and Domitian with supports to these brave legions, but even before the succor reached them they had mastered their enemy and driven the Gaulish hero out of his island in the Rhine into the German forests. Civilis, however, made terms, and was allowed to return and live peaceably at home. Thus ended the last national effort of the Gauls. It was strictly confined to the soldiery, and never stirred the mass of the people. Its leaders were all officers in the Roman army, whose aim was self-aggrandizement. The two great elements of Gaulish nationality, the nobility and the priesthood, had been absorbed and assimilated by the Empire. The nobles were content to become centurions and tribunes; the Druids rejoiced in the titles and pensions of augurs and flamens. We shall hear no more either of one or of the other.

Contemporary with these events in the West was the last desperate struggle of the Jews for their national independence, which issued in its final extinction by Titus.

Under the first five of the Cæsars, Judæa, though subject to the Empire, generally enjoyed a semblance of independent government under its native princes of the family of Herod, passing, however, at times under the direct control of Roman officers, styled procurators, who represented the authority of the governor of the province of Syria. After the death of Herod Agrippa, 44 A. D., the country was permanently annexed to Syria, and was governed by a procurator, who resided at Cæsarea. The Jews were at this time in a ferment of political and religious excitement. Many false Christs appeared, and drew the people after them. The nation was pervaded by an uneasy expectation of some great impending change.

Caligula nearly caused an outbreak by his command that his own statue should be erected in the Temple; his death occurred in time to avert a catastrophe. Claudius showed more respect for their religious scruples, but the violent temper of the Jews rendered the task of government a most difficult one, and many oppressions and cruelties were exercised by the local governor without the emperor's sanction. At last, under the harsher government of Nero, the spirit of disaffection grew to a head, and burst into open rebellion. The fanatical pride of the people, stimulated by their priests, asserted itself in a tone of defiance which Rome would never brook, and which required to be put down with a strong hand. Some there were, no doubt, who counseled moderation and submission, but the general feeling was one of more bitter and persistent hostility than Rome had anywhere else encountered.

The resources of the Jews were more formidable than might be supposed, judging from their small extent of territory, which scarcely exceeded that of Belgium or Portugal in the present day. But the population was unusually dense, and had been exempted from the military levies which had exhausted many provinces. The flower of their youth had been trained indeed to arms, but only to serve under native leaders upon their own soil. Armed troops of brigands were at hand to swell the ranks of a national army. A sworn band of assassins, the Sicarii (the men of the dagger), urged their desperate measures upon the priests and nobles on peril of their lives. The names of Maccabæus, of David, and of Joshua were invoked with genuine enthusiasm.

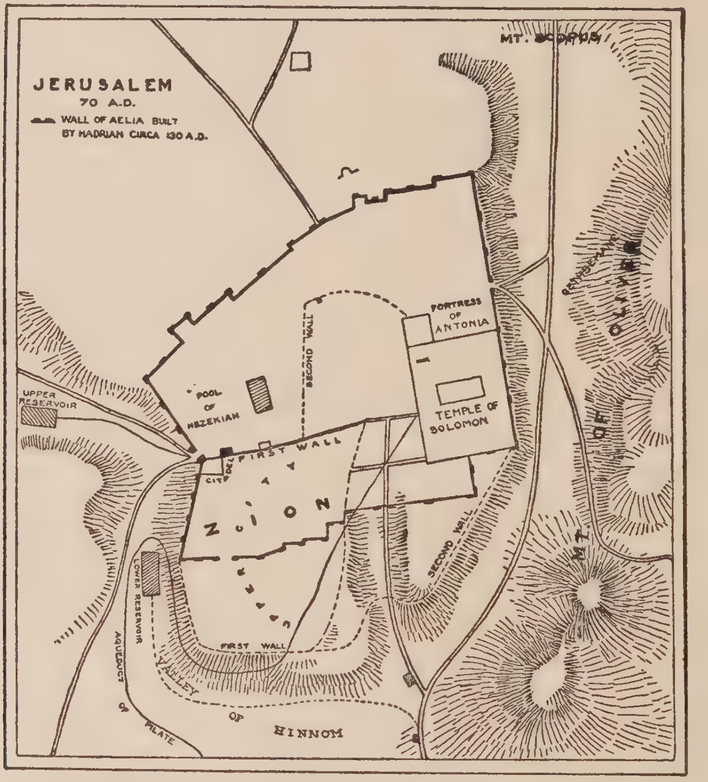
Casting aside the authority of the procurator in Judæa, and of Agrippa the younger in Ituræa, the Sanhedrim constituted itself a priestly and revolutionary government for the whole of Palestine. They divided the country into seven military districts, the command in Galilee being intrusted to Josephus, the historian. He represented himself as an able commander, but his countrymen have regarded him with good reason as a traitor to their cause. Vespasian was the captain to whom the conduct of the war was intrusted by Nero. Josephus claims to have held Iotapata against him for forty-seven days, but the Jewish historian was captured in the final assault, and thenceforth became the flatterer, and perhaps the instrument, of the Romans.

During two campaigns which followed the fall of Iotapata, Vespasian slowly overran and ravaged the whole of Palestine, without attempting to attack Jerusalem. During the struggle for the succession in Rome, he withdrew to Cæsarea, and from the day when he was saluted emperor by the troops (69 A. D.) he ceased to direct the affairs of Palestine, which were committed to the charge of his son Titus. In the year 70 A. D., Titus advanced with four legions and numerous auxiliaries—a force of 80,000 men—upon the devoted city. The defenses of Jerusalem, both natural and artificial, were remarkably strong. Behind them stood 24,000 trained warriors and a host of irregular combatants; but the hundreds of thousands of worshipers assembled for the Passover, and shut up within the walls, were an element of weakness rather than of strength in the defense.

A yet more potent source of weakness lay in the fierce factions by which the Jews were distracted. Hitherto the moderate party, headed by Ananus, the high-priest, had controlled the city. In this great emergency all the fierce and fanatical spirits, known as the party of the Zealots, flocked in from the country, with Eleazer at their head. They insulted and threatened all who were favorable to a compromise with Rome, and in a short time made themselves masters of the Temple and its strong enclosure, and forced the whole people to submit to their dictation.

Titus advanced from the north, and planted his camp on the ridge of Scopus. Provided with powerful engines and siege artillery, he proceeded methodically to break down the successive defenses; but so energetic was the resistance offered, that he did not effect a lodgment within the first wall without heavy loss. All attempts at conciliation were savagely rejected, and the besiegers blockaded the second circuit and the fortress of Antonia. Famine soon prevailed among the Jews, who suffered the direst horrors. The terrors of the people were excited by the report of prodigies. The fanatic Hanan traversed the streets crying, "Woe to Jerusalem!" till at last, exclaiming, "Woe to me also!" he fell by a blow from a Roman catapult. The Romans affirmed that the gates of the Temple had burst open of their own accord, and a voice more than human had been heard exclaiming, "Let us depart hence."

The tower of Antonia fell, and the Temple became untenable. John and Simon, united in their last danger, retired into the upper city on Zion, breaking down the causeway which connected it with the Temple on Moriah. The Temple itself was stormed, and, contrary to the orders of Titus, destroyed by fire. Josephus was now sent to parley with the besieged, but was spurned by them as a renegade. Titus himself tried in vain to bring them to terms. Such clemency was unexampled; but his patience was now exhausted, and he vowed to destroy the entire city. The attack proceeded. Thousands of Jews fell in unavailing sallies; thousands died of famine; the remainder were captured and sold into slavery. The two leaders endeavored to escape into the country by rock-hewn galleries underneath the city. They failed, and were captured. John was imprisoned for life. Simon was reserved to grace the conqueror's triumph. Titus, whom the soldiers had saluted Imperator, hastened to Rome for fear lest his father's jealousy might be excited against him. But Vespasian was a man of sense and feeling, and the confidence between father and son was never shaken.



Chapter XII

THE FLAVIAN EMPERORS—VESPASIAN, TITUS AND DOMITIAN. 70-96 A. D.

THE accession of Vespasian, the head of the Flavian house, marks an epoch in Roman history. The first six emperors born or adopted into the family of the Julii might boast of blue patrician blood, illustrated from ancient times by consuls and imperators and other leaders of men. Even after the death of Nero, a Sulpicius, a Salvius, or a Vitellius, if he had been personally successful, might have transferred to his own family that halo of divinity by which the Julii had seemed to reign by right divine; for they all belonged to the class to which the tradition of power attached in Rome. Vespasian, on the other hand, was a man of low birth. The Flavii were not only plebeians, but plebeians whose gens had never been ennobled by a single distinguished ancestor. Vespasian had risen to eminence by his own prudence and ability, and was now thrust upon the astonished Senate by the will of the soldiers. The people welcomed the choice; and the fortunate accident which made the Flavii the defenders of the Capitol when assailed by impious adversaries might seem to sanctify the new dynasty in the eyes of a superstitious people, and prepared the way for the deification of Vespasian after his death, and the ascription of divine honors to Domitian even during his lifetime.

During the ten years of Vespasian's tranquil reign he applied himself to the restoration of the finances which had been squandered by Nero. Loyally supported by the legions and their officers, he compelled his troops to rest content with moderate rewards. As a tribute to the memory of Galba, the Latin right was conceded to the whole of Spain. On the other hand, Greece, which had been enfranchised by Nero, was again reduced to the condition of a taxable province. Many dependent kingdoms and republics in the East were absorbed into the Empire. It need not surprise us that Vespasian was charged with parsimony and avarice, when we learn that he estimated the needs of the public treasury at four myriad millions of sesterces, or about $1,600,000,000. To replace the old republican nobility, which was becoming extinct, Vespasian created new nobles, taken from the able men throughout the Empire, a nobility of merit, which on the whole was loyal to the emperor. The result was to improve morals in the Capital and incidentally education, for the new nobles employed the public teachers hired by the emperor instead of private tutors, as the old nobles had done.

Vespasian knew how to spend wisely as well as how to save. His vast constructions have already been mentioned, but he deserves especial credit as the first of Roman emperors who expended public money on a system of national education. He aimed at attaching the literary class to the Empire, and the appointment of Quintilian, the rhetorician, to the consulship marks the increased estimation in which the class of teachers was held. It is to be regretted that he found it impossible to show similar favor to the philosophers of the Stoic and Cynic schools. Resenting the brutality of the soldiers, these men intrigued against the government which rested on them for support. Vespasian revived against them the persecuting laws of the Republic, and drove them out of the city; and his memory must always suffer for the execution of Helvidius Priscus, the great luminary of the Stoics.

At the ripe age of seventy, full of toils and honors, Vespasian died of natural decay, demanding in his last moments to be raised upright, as "an imperator ought to die standing." From the day when the legions in the East had saluted Titus by the title of imperator, his father had wisely admitted him to a substantial share of power. Titus in return had relieved him from some of the most dangerous and invidious tasks of government; he came to the undivided sovereignty not without a character, at least among the nobles, for craft and cruelty; but he was still the darling of the soldiers and a favorite with the people. He bore the reputation of a scholar and a refined thinker, and he was, on account of his general kindliness, one of the most popular of the emperors.

During his short reign Titus won the respect and affection of all classes, but especially of the nobles. To their grateful recollection we doubtless owe the preservation of his famous dictum that he had "lost a day" when he had let twenty-four hours pass without the performance of some beneficent action. Two years after his accession he died of premature decline, and had no choice but to nominate his unworthy brother Domitian as his successor.

Perhaps his early death saved him from the downward course which so many gallant princes had run before him. His profuse expenditure had already exhausted the treasures accumulated by Vespasian; and even Titus, "the delight of the human race," as he was fondly termed, could hardly have escaped the stain of cruelty in his efforts to replace them. This short principate witnessed two grave calamities. A fire, scarcely less disastrous than that in the reign of Nero, swept over the city, damaging the new temple on the Capitol, and destroying many public buildings which had escaped the earlier conflagration. Still more renowned in history is the great eruption of Vesuvius, by which the cities of Herculaneum and Pompeii were destroyed in 79 A. D., the one buried under a flood of molten lava, the other under a shower of burning ashes.

The first of the Flavian emperors had displayed, even upon the throne, the frugality, the simplicity, and the manly firmness which were characteristic of the yeomen of the Sabine hills. His sons were not proof against the seductions of a court and city life; and the younger of them, Domitian, who now assumed the imperial purple, showed a marked deterioration of character. His jealousy of the military renown of his father and brother failed to arouse him to deeds of warlike prowess; and though a student during his years of obscurity, he never emulated his brother's fame as a scholar. A pedant and a disciplinarian toward the vices of others, he was cruel and licentious himself.

His lieutenant in Britain, Agricola, carried the Roman eagles far beyond the limits of the Mersey and the Trent. Taking the command in the year 78 A. D. he completed the conquest of North Wales and then advanced his camps to the line of the Tyne and the Solway. He was here confronted by the wild and restless tribes of Caledonia, and in seven successive campaigns he reduced the country as far north as the Tay. At the same time his fleet explored the coast as far as Cape Wrath, and proved that Britain was an island; while some of his land troops, from the Mull of Galloway, beheld the coast of Ireland, a new region, which he was assured might be conquered by a single legion. So much success excited the jealousy of Domitian, and Agricola was recalled to Rome, where he lived in high honor with both prince and people for several years.

Domitian's vanity would not be satisfied without an arch of triumph to rival that of his brother. His colossal equestrian statue was already erected in front of his father's temple. The people, at the same time, demanded games and shows in increasing profusion. To meet all these expenses, in the absence of plunder from abroad, he was obliged to levy large gifts, under the name of golden crowns, on the nobles and provincials of the Empire. Such a course of action produced its natural consequence, discontent, which culminated before long in insurrection. L. Antonius Saturninus, a descendant both of the triumvir and of the popular tribune, commanded two legions on the Rhine. He seduced his own soldiers, and made an alliance with the German tribes across the frontier. His plan was to march on Rome in the winter season, and, trusting to the unpopularity of the emperor, to strike a blow for power. He was, however, quickly defeated and slain. Domitian, who had faced the emergency with courage, took steps to prevent the recurrence of such an attempt. He broke up the armies of the Empire into smaller commands, and forbade the hoarding of any considerable sums of money in the military chests. At the same time he took the opportunity to wreak his vengeance by arbitrary executions upon all who had excited his suspicion.

In one respect it must be owned that Domitian's rule was directed, however inconsistently, to the good of the public. He was a disciplinarian, and he determined to try to reform the morals of his people. His religion was a vile superstition, but, such as it was, he was in earnest about it. He began by inquiring into the irregularities imputed to certain of the Vestal Virgins. Two of them were convicted, and mercifully allowed to take their own lives; a third, Cornelia, was condemned to suffer the full penalty of the law, that is, to be walled up alive with only a crust of bread and a flask of water. With the same object—viz., to propitiate the divine patrons of marriage—he enforced the laws against adultery, and put some check upon the spread of disgusting forms of Oriental effeminacy. In spite of the fact that one of his own special favorites was the actor Paris, who was infamous for his dissolute life, the imperial reformer next directed his severities against the singers and dancers in the theaters. With the mimes, according to ancient precedent, were included the astrologers, and the same proscription was further extended to the philosophers, so that Apollonius of Tyana, the most noted moral teacher of his time, was expelled, with others of his class, from Italy. The Christians, whose progress among the upper classes was beginning to excite alarm, did not escape persecution. Flavius Clemens, a cousin of the emperor, was sentenced to death on a charge of Judaizing; he has always been reckoned among the Christian martyrs.

Domitian teased and irritated all classes, and his cruelties were wont to be aggravated by a certain grim humor. He lived in constant fear of assassination, and surrounded himself with guards and informers; but all his precautions failed to secure him. A child is said to have found in his chamber the tablets on which he had designated the empress and some of his own household for death. A plot was at once formed in the palace, and the blow was struck by the freedman Stephanus. Thus the noblest blood of Rome was avenged by menials in 96 A. D.

Chapter XIII

PROSPERITY OF THE EMPIRE UNDER NERVA, TRAJAN, AND HADRIAN. 96-138

BY the death of Domitian, the race of the Flavii expired, as that of the Julii had done before. No heir existed who could claim the Empire as of right. The Senate at once asserted its privilege of appointing to the vacant throne; and the elevation of M. Cocceius Nerva by the selection of the Senate marks another important epoch in the history of the Empire. The second century A. D. is called the Age of the Antonines, and comprises the reigns of the "Five Good Emperors" and of one of the worst of emperors —Commodus, the son of Marcus Aurelius. This period from 96 to 180 A. D. (the latter date being that of the death of Marcus Aurelius) is the Golden Age of the Roman Empire and is generally considered one of the happiest periods in the whole history of mankind. The Empire enjoyed internal peace and prosperity. Domitian was the last of the "twelve Cæsars," so called most likely because Suetonius composed the biographies of those twelve only. His successors continued to assume the title, but they held the office by a very different tenure. Nerva was not the creation of military power, nor the descendant of a line which owed its origin thereto. He was the nominee of the Senate, and the first of five emperors selected by that body, who were the worthiest rulers Rome ever had, and who gave to the Empire more happiness and prosperity than any others. Nerva, too, was not a native of Rome, nor even of Italy; his family had long been settled in Crete; and after him the emperors in long succession were of provincial, if not of foreign, extraction.

Nerva began his reign by heaping indignity on the memory of the murdered emperor, and punishing the base instruments of his cruelty. The prætorians, indeed, demanded the sacrifice of Domitian's murderers, and Nerva, though he boldly resisted the cry of vengeance, found it impossible to shield them. As soon as their swords were sheathed, he determined to curb the pretensions of the soldiers by adopting as his heir and partner in the Empire the best and bravest of his officers. M. Ulpius Trajanus was in command on the Rhine, but his name and character were well known. When Nerva mounted the Capitol and proclaimed his adoption, the Senate acquiesced without a demur. The prætorian guards trembled before the legions of a resolute chief, and shrunk back into their camp. The aged Nerva, by this master stroke of policy, firmly established his authority, and continued to exercise it in dignified tranquillity till death removed him after a short reign of sixteen months.

No one dreamed of opposing the lawful succession of Trajan. He belonged to a good old Roman family, long settled in Spain, in which country he had been born. As a soldier and a provincial, he might be disposed to content himself with the command of the legions at a distance, and to leave the government of the city in the hands of the Senate. So, doubtless, hoped the nobles, and so it proved to be. Trajan, in the full vigor of his age and confident in his own ability, had not yet reaped his laurels, but was eager to gain triumphs and annex provinces. He rekindled in the Romans the old spirit of conquest, and, cheered by their applause, devoted the greater part of his reign to two great enterprises, the subjugation of a vast territory beyond the Danube, and the overthrow of the Parthian Empire on the Euphrates and the Tigris.

Trajan, on receiving the reins of power at Cologne, at once sent a promise to the Senate that no member of that body should suffer capital punishment under his rule. Before quitting the province he secured the Rhenish frontier by establishing new colonies and military stations. He threw a bridge across the river at Mainz, and advanced the outposts of the Empire to Höchst and Baden. He then repaired to Rome, and, as we learn from the courtly "Panegyric" of Pliny, won the favor of all classes of the citizens by his gracious demeanor. So secure was he of the loyalty of the soldiers that he ventured to reduce by one-half the customary largess. When he handed to the prefect of the prætorians the poniard which was the symbol of his office, he could boldly say, "Use this for me, if I do well; if ill, against me." The popularity of Trajan was already, during this brief sojourn, so unbounded, that the Senate conferred upon him, in addition to the usual imperial titles, the transcendent appellation of "Optimus" (the best), a distinction which was never enjoyed by any other emperor.

Meanwhile the legions on the frontiers were longing for active warfare, and their imperator was as eager for fresh triumphs as themselves. But he determined not to meet the expenses of war by imposing fresh burdens of taxation on the citizens. His campaign should be self-supporting, and should enrich the treasury by adding new regions to the list of tributary provinces. The Romans were still, as it proved, a martial nation, and well disposed to second the bold advance of Trajan. Between the Danube and the Carpathians lay the wild tract of mountain, plain, and forest known as Dacia, represented on the modern map by the countries of Hungary, Transylvania, and Roumania. The Dacian tribes were swayed by a single ruler known to the Romans by the name or title of Decebalus. In the year 101 A. D. Trajan began the conquest of this region. Marshaling his forces at Sissek, on the Save, he descended the stream into the Danube. Along the bank of this great river he constructed a road, and at Severin he spanned the current with a solid bridge whose foundations may still at times be seen. At the end of two campaigns he had overrun much of the country, and had occupied the royal city, where he afterward planted his colony of Ulpia Trajana. The hill fortress of Decebalus was stormed and the conquered chief, together with his nobles, destroyed themselves (104 A. D.). The Column of Trajan still stands at Rome, and bears, in its bronze reliefs, the record of this conquest; around its base still stretches the open space of Trajan's Forum, and the ruins of the temple erected there at a later period for the worship of his divinity. Dacia was completely subjugated and so effectually colonized by the Romans that to this day the language of the people is substantially the Latin tongue.

On his return to Rome (106 A. D.), Trajan devoted himself to adorning the city and the Empire with splendid constructions, defraying the expenses out of the tribute of his conquered province, and building not for himself, but for his people. At Ancona the Arch of Trajan still reminds the traveler that that chief port of the Adriatic was constructed by him. The port of Civita Vecchia is to this day sheltered by Trajan's Mole; another of his works was the existing bridge over the Tagus at Alcantara. A writer, three centuries later, says that "Trajan built the world over;" and Constantine compared him to a wall-flower, because his name so often met the eye inscribed upon his buildings.

After an interval of eight years, devoted to works of peace and to the administration of a beneficent government, Trajan quitted the city for the East, to reduce the Parthians to submission. Chosroes, the Parthian ruler, alarmed by his advance, sent envoys to propitiate him, but the presents they bore were rejected. At Antioch delay was caused by a tremendous earthquake, in which vast numbers of people, including one of the Roman consuls, perished, and the emperor narrowly escaped destruction. After repairing the losses caused by this disaster, he led his legions to the frontier of Armenia, and summoned to his presence the usurper Parthamasiris. This prince was required to lay his diadem at the feet of Trajan, and formally to acknowledge that his kingdom belonged to Rome. After suffering grave indignities, he was dismissed, and if the history may be trusted, was waylaid and murdered, to the disgrace of the emperor who gave the order.

Having thus settled the position of Armenia, Trajan advanced upon the Parthians by the same route which had proved fatal to Crassus, but, unlike the luckless triumvir, he drove the enemy before him, established himself firmly in the region of Adiabene, and before the end of the year 115 had constituted the new province of Assyria beyond the Tigris, and had justly earned the title of Parthicus.

The winter was passed at Nisibis or Edessa, and early in the spring of 116 the Roman army descended the Euphrates by water. The Parthian monarch fled into Media, and his capital, Ctesiphon, surrendered without a blow. Trajan advanced through Babylonia to the shores of the Persian Gulf, and longed to rival the achievements of Alexander. But the disturbed state of the country behind him convinced him that he had reached his limit. On his return march he stormed and destroyed Seleucia, and on reaching Ctesiphon placed a creature of his own on the throne of Parthia. Armenia and Mesopotamia, with some portion of Arabia, were reduced to the form of provinces; but they were never solidly incorporated with the Empire, and before their conqueror had reached Antioch on his homeward march, they had already severed the unwelcome connection. Trajan had been wounded in an attack upon the little fortress of Atra, and did not live to see Rome again. He died in 117 at Selinus, in Cilicia, after a short illness. He had reached the age of sixty-five, and had reigned nineteen years and a half. Though more of a rough soldier than a courtly scholar, his manners were kindly and gracious, and he has left a higher name than any of his predecessors in the purple for generosity and manliness of character. He deserved to be the favorite, as he was, both of the nobles and of the people, both of the city and of the provinces.

Trajan's expedition to the East may very probably have been caused by the uneasiness of the rulers of the Empire about the restless intrigues of the Jews, and a vague consciousness of the growing numbers of the Christians, who, for aught they knew, might be aiming in secret at political ends. After the destruction of Jerusalem, the Jewish hopes of a Messiah were carefully inquired into, and all who pretended to a descent from David were prosecuted. But the Jewish religion was still tolerated at Rome, and throughout the Empire, as a national cult. The Christians, as professing an irregular and unrecognized creed, were outside the protection of the law, and during the Flavian period a wave of persecution passed over them. When, however, it became evident that these new sectaries cherished no schemes of rebellion, the authorities relaxed their severity, and were content to require of them the acknowledgment that "Cæsar was their master."

During Trajan's reign Pliny the younger was governor of Bithynia, and persons were often charged before him with the crime of being Christians. His practice was to question them, and if they boldly confessed the fact, he considered it to be his plain duty to condemn them to death. Finding, however, that this treatment only increased their numbers, and convinced of the moral innocence of his victims, he wrote to the emperor for instructions on the subject. Trajan recommended mild measures, commanding that the Christians should not be sought for, and that denunciations of them, which emanated chiefly from the Jews, should be discouraged. Still, if any were accused, and professed their guilt, the majesty of the law must be upheld. Meantime multitudes of Jews as well as of Roman citizens continued to join the new religion. The East was rife with reports and expectations of a coming deliverer. The conflagrations at Rome and the fatal eruption of Vesuvius added to the alarm produced by the Christian prophecies of an approaching destruction of the world by fire. The claim of the Christians to superior morality excited the passions of the populace which is always intolerant of such professions. The manifest fact that a secret association, uniting in its bonds numbers of persons of every class, was advancing in power and organization, disturbed the minds of the rulers, who were accustomed ruthlessly to suppress every combination of the kind. All these influences seem to have been kindled into fierce activity by the coincidence of a destructive earthquake with the emperor's visit to Antioch. The fanaticism and terror of the sufferers broke forth against the Christians, and Trajan stained his good name by encouraging a cruel persecution, which became memorable for the martyrdom of the Christian bishop Ignatius in the arena of Antioch.

At the same time, the Jews, driven from their own land, and scattered throughout the East, were intriguing in every city, in Alexandria, in Antioch, even in distant Seleucia, striving to unite their own people in a combined movement against the might of Rome, stirring up Parthians, Armenians, and Arabians against the common enemy. All these schemes had been disconcerted by Trajan's sudden and vigorous expedition, but his conquests, though brilliant, had lacked stability, and it became an embarrassing problem for his successor whether to maintain or to relinquish them. "Trajan's administration was energetic, just, and humane. He had the strength to punish evil-doers; he repealed oppressive taxes, and costly as were his wars and his buildings he laid no new burden on his people."[1]

On Trajan's death without issue, the Empress Plotina at once announced his chosen heir to be P. Ælius Hadrianus, his cousin, and, like himself, of Spanish birth (117 A. D.). Both Senate and people acquiesced in the choice, for Hadrian was distinguished for virtue and ability. The remains of Trajan were conveyed to Rome, and buried beneath his column. Hadrian lingered in the East to pacify the disaffected provinces, and wisely determined to return to the policy of Augustus, to restrict the limits of the Empire, and to abandon the recent conquests. Then he returned to Rome to receive the homage of the Senate, and began his reign in a spirit of moderation and liberality.

Full of activity both of mind and body, Hadrian visited every province of the Empire, commanding the legions in person wherever danger threatened, and leaving marks of his progress in public buildings and in improved government. His first expedition was to the new Dacian province, which was threatened by encroaching tribes of Sarmatians. At the head of his legions he defeated these barbarians, but deemed it wiser, after his first success, to withdraw behind the Danube, and even to break down Trajan's Bridge.

After a short interval spent at Rome, Hadrian visited the

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[1] Botsford, "History of Rome," p. 249.

North of Britain, where the Caledonian tribes were giving much trouble. Here he built roads and military stations, fortified the country from sea to sea between the camps of Agricola on the Tyne and the Solway, building "Hadrian's wall," bridged the Tyne at Newcastle, and fixed the provincial government at York. The mineral wealth of the North of England was then attracting numerous settlers, as it did again so conspicuously in the nineteenth century. From Britain he passed on through Gaul and Spain, and crossed the Mediterranean to quiet some disturbances in Mauretania. Thence he turned his steps to the extreme eastern frontier, where the restless Parthians were again menacing war. In a personal interview, he prevailed on Chosroes to leave the Empire at peace. Journeying homeward through Asia Minor and Greece, he stayed long at Athens, and, after visiting Rome and Carthage, returned once more to the East—to Athens, Antioch, and Alexandria.

In the course of sixty years since the campaigns of Vespasian and Titus, the Jews in Palestine had increased in numbers, and they now broke into a fierce insurrection headed by Bar-Cochebas, the "Son of the Star." Hadrian had inquired curiously into many religions, that of the Jews among others. They had hoped he had become a proselyte, and they now denounced him as an apostate; but he ruthlessly put down their rebellion, slaughtered their people in vast numbers, and planted the colony of Ælia Capitolina on the site of their sacred city.

Hadrian distinguished between the Jews and the Christians. The latter he recognized as loyal citizens, and discouraged the local persecutions to which they were exposed. During his sojourn at Athens, they ventured to approach him as a seeker after truth; and he listened graciously to the apologies of Quadratus and Aristides, who were famous for their wisdom and learning. At Athens, Hadrian had shown himself an intelligent inquirer into the highest questions of human speculation. At Alexandria he appeared rather as an explorer of curiosities. Egypt, the granary of Rome, had been jealously guarded by the emperors as their own special province. No Roman of rank might even visit it without express permission.

Hadrian returned to Rome in 134, and began at once to adorn the city with splendid buildings. The temple of Venus and Roma, now but the fragment of a ruin, was the grandest temple in the city. But his most magnificent work was his own *moles*, or mausoleum, whose solid mass is still conspicuous in the Castle of St. Angelo. When first erected, it had far more of architectural ornament than now. Tier over tier of columns graced its sides, and above it soared a gilded dome surmounted by the statue of the founder, who was ultimately buried beneath it. Besides these new constructions, Hadrian restored many of the older buildings, such as the Pantheon, the temple of Augustus, and the baths of Agrippa. He piqued himself on his knowledge of all matters, but especially of architecture, and is said to have put Apollodorus, the architect, to death for an uncourtly criticism of one of his designs. Favorinus, the rhetorician, yielded to his authority on questions of grammar, remarking that " it is ill disputing with the master of thirty legions."

Hadrian reigned supreme in the loyalty of the soldiers, and in the favor of the Senate and of all classes of citizens. Yet he chose to associate with himself in the purple a young and frivolous noble, C. Commodus Verus. This worthless partner of his empire was intrusted with a command on the Pannonian frontier, but he soon fell into a decline, and in the third year of his feeble sovereignty died. Hadrian hastened to supply his place. Assembling the chiefs of the Senate, he announced to them that his choice had fallen on T. Aurelius Antoninus, a man of mature age and proved ability. The new emperor was required to adopt two heirs, Annius and Lucius Verus, both of the family of the lately deceased emperor.

The life of Hadrian himself was not protracted beyond the middle of this year (138). He suffered much from maladies for which medicine afforded no relief, and is said to have become irritable and sanguinary in his last years. At one time he would take refuge in magical arts, at another in poison or the dagger of the suicide, but he was kindly watched and tended, and expired in comparative tranquillity, leaving to the world as his last legacy a playful and poetical address to his own departing spirit. " By his thorough reforms he put the machinery of government, as well as the military system, in such order that it continued to run with little repair for more than a hundred years. Underlying all his work we find this principle,—the armies, the governors, Rome and the emperor existed for the welfare of the provinces. As he was the first real monarch, he was likewise the first servant of the Empire."[1]

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[1] Botsford, "History of Rome," p. 253.

Chapter XIV

THE AGE OF THE ANTONINES. 138-180

TITUS AURELIUS ANTONINUS was already in his fifty-second year when he began to reign. In honor of his adoptive father, he changed his style to Titus Ælius Hadrianus Antoninus; and to this the Senate added the epithet Pius. He is commonly known as Antoninus Pius. He was married to Arria Galeria Faustina, and had several children, but only one daughter, Faustina, survived, and her he joined in marriage with his nephew Aurelius, whom he had adopted at the same time as the young Verus. The name of Antoninus, which was borne equally by Pius and by his successor, Marcus Aurelius, became, next to that of Augustus, the most honored in the long imperial series. The Age of the Antonines is generally reckoned as beginning with the accession of Nerva. It was a period of peace and prosperity, and of good, we may almost say of constitutional, government; but in the course of it the ancient martial valor of the Roman people was perishing for want of exercise.

The two Antonines were philosophers in the purple, who governed their people, in concert with the Senate, on the highest principles of virtue. The elder could seat himself in his library on the Palatine and rule the Empire from its center. But for the exigencies of frontier wars, the younger, Aurelius, would have passed a no less studious life. Both of them, by their promise to shed no senator's blood, were pledged to frugality in the public service, and both redeemed their pledge. Antoninus, while he remitted some customary taxes, was magnificent in gifts and largesses and public works, and when the full treasury of Hadrian was emptied, he replenished it by the sale of the imperial furniture.

The internal history of this happy reign was entirely uneventful. On the frontiers, indeed, there was frequent trouble, especially on the Danube and in Africa, but this mild prince, who judged it better to save one citizen than to slay a thousand enemies, adopted the policy of buying off the invaders. In Britain, however, after a revolt of the Brigantes had been put down, the defenses of the Empire were carried farther north, and a second wall was built across the island between the estuaries of the Clyde and the Forth. The space thus gained to the Roman province between the walls of Agricola and Antoninus was rapidly filled up by Roman colonists, who were constantly pushing forward even beyond the limits of protection. In the most distant regions of Parthia, Armenia, and Scythia, the Emperor of Rome was accepted as the supreme arbiter of national quarrels. Yet the policy of Augustus was adhered to, and the limits of the Empire were not extended in that direction. This period of quiet equilibrium was signalized by some great works of geographical interest—the "System of Geography" of Ptolemy, the "Itinerary" of Antoninus, and the "Periplus of the Euxine and of the Erythræan or Indian Ocean" by Arrian. "The firm edifice of Roman power was raised and preserved by the wisdom of ages. The obedient provinces of Trajan and the Antonines were united by laws and adorned by arts—the general principle of government was wise, simple and beneficent." [1]

The greatest glory of Antoninus is the unremitting care with which he studied to promote the welfare and happiness of his people. Humanity, under him, made a great step in advance. Not content with repressing the exactions and injustice of the tax-collectors, he required his officers to spare the needy and indulge the unfortunate. Not only did he economize the public resources, but he sacrificed his own fortune to the service of the state. He celebrated the secular games with great splendor, and adorned the city with a graceful column as well as by the completion of Hadrian's mausoleum. The amphitheater at Nismes and the aqueduct of the Pont du Gard, the noblest monuments of Roman art beyond the Alps, are also ascribed to his munificence. Antoninus also contributed important additions to the code of Roman law, and his judgments were marked by equity and humanity. His paternal kindness toward the Christians was even more generous than that of Hadrian.

The special characteristic of Antoninus was his cheerfulness. No philosophical dispute, no popular outburst of petulance, could disturb the serenity of his temper. Content with his political surroundings, with the society of his friends, with the religion of his time, he was troubled by no anxieties. Power made no difference in him. Kind, modest, affable, and abstemious as he had always been, such he continued to be as emperor. To his unworthy consort Faustina he was more than forgiving, taking no notice of her irregularities; and when she died, as fortunately she did in the early years of his principate, he assigned her divine honors, and never married again. After reigning for twenty-three years, he died, 161 A. D., giving to his guard as his last watchword, "Equanimity."

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[1] Gibbon, "Decline and Fall of Rome," Bury's ed., vol. i. p. 28.

Marcus Aurelius, who now succeeded to the throne, had been for some time associated in the government. In presiding on the tribunals, in guiding the deliberations of the Senate, in receiving embassies and appointing magistrates, he had shrunk from no fatigue; but his heart was still in his philosophical studies. Plato had maintained that states would surely flourish, were but their philosophers princes or their princes philosophers; and the hope that he might prove this doctrine true encouraged Aurelius in his undertaking. By Hadrian's direction, Antoninus had adopted the young Verus at the same time with Aurelius; but he had treated the two on a very different footing. While marrying Aurelius to his own daughter, and treating him with confidence as his destined successor, he had excluded from public life the weak son of a dissolute sire. Aurelius at once reversed this wise decision, and elevated his brother to a position equal to his own, conferring upon him every dignity which he enjoyed, not even withholding the title of Augustus. For the first time two Augusti sat together in the purple.

The first years of the new reign were troubled by disturbances in various parts of the Empire. Lusitania broke into insurrection. Spain was invaded by the Moors. The Chatti crossed the frontiers into Gaul and Rhætia. In Britain the legions were disaffected. But the most serious alarm was caused by war with Parthia, and a disaster to the Roman arms at Elegia, on the Euphrates, comparable to that of Carrhæ. Aurelius dispatched Verus to the East with experienced officers to guide him; but before he reached the seat of war, Avidius Cassius had already retrieved the fortunes of the Empire by a series of victories, which opened the gates of Ctesiphon and Seleucia, and revived the memory of Trajan's conquests. Verus hastened back to Rome, but the returning army brought with it the seeds of a terrible pestilence which spread its devastations throughout the West. Famine, fires, and earthquakes succeeded to the plague, and the public terror was brought to a climax by the report of a powerful irruption of barbarians across the Danube. Superstitious fears took possession both of the people and of the prince. These calamities were attributed to the anger of the gods, and the progress which the Christians were making pointed them out as suitable victims to appease the divine wrath. Aurelius purified the city by a solemn lustration and a lectisternium of seven days, and then, to his lasting disgrace, gave orders for a cruel persecution of the Christians. The reasons why we now come to persecutions of the Christians are the changes in the status of the new religion. Chief among these reasons was the large increase in the number of the Christians, so that they attracted the attention of the government; and among the converts persons of the upper class became more numerous. The result was to make the state understand the nature of the Christians, and while Rome had been tolerant toward many forms of religion, Christianity was essentially different. It refused to acknowledge the gods of Rome or to worship them. And this inevitably appeared like treason to the Romans, in whose eyes the welfare of the state depended on the favor of their gods. Hence it is easy to see why the best emperors were often the most determined persecutors.

Aurelius now set out for the seat of war, accompanied by Verus. The legions were sickly and desponding; the citizens scarcely hoped for their victorious return. Already the outposts were in retreat, and the colonists were flying before a numerous and organized host of invaders. But the memory of Trajan was still held in awe on the Danube. Before the emperors reached the Alps, the shadow of their great name had gone before them, and sufficed to repel the intruders and make them sue for peace. In the following year they visited Illyricum, and made provision for the defense of the Empire in that quarter; and on their return to Rome, in the autumn of 168, Aurelius was relieved, by the death of the feeble Verus, of one source of anxiety and embarrassment. From this time forward Aurelius knew no respite from distant warfare. One great victory is claimed for his arms; and a final triumph began to seem almost within reach, when he was carried off by a fever at Vindebona (Vienna) 180 A. D. He at least escaped the mortification of seeing the great Sarmatian war closed by a disgraceful peace, which was soon after purchased by the Romans.

Marcus Aurelius, though not endowed with brilliant military genius, yet commanded his legions with courage and earnestness, and was not ill seconded by his officers and men. But the armies of Rome were no longer what they once had been. These troops of foreign mercenaries were not to compare for martial vigor with the old Italian militia; and the population of the Empire was seriously crippled by the plague. On the other hand, the Germans and Scythians opposed to him flowed forward in irresistible hordes, with all the audacity that belongs to the lusty youth of nations. From this time forward the tide of victory began to set against the Empire. The attitude of Rome became purely defensive, and though she fought bravely, her defense was crippled by a sense of weakness, and at length by anticipation of defeat. Aurelius seems to have perceived, before his countrymen, this downward course on which the Empire was entering, and to have been saddened by the prospect.

The despondency of the imperial philosopher is strongly marked in the book of " Meditations," in which he closely analyzes his own character and motives. Stoicism had become to this, the last great representative of the sect, more than ever a matter of conscience and religion; and as such it not unnaturally kindled in his mind a feeling of hostility to the professors of the young and vigorous system which was soon to supplant it.

Chapter XV

TRANSITION PERIOD OF DECLINE. 180-235

WE need not dwell long on the reign of the wretched Commodus, the unworthy son of a noble father. At first he allowed the government to be administered by the wise statesmen by whom his father had surrounded him, and veiled his own profligacy within his palace walls. But his own sister Lucilla plotted against his life, and the assassin she had hired, as he aimed the blow, announced that it was sent by the Senate. Commodus escaped, but was thenceforward filled with deadly enmity against the senators, and contrived, on various false accusations, to rid himself by death or exile of all the most distinguished among them. The government then fell into the hands of a succession of favorites, some of whom plotted against their master, were detected, and executed, while others were sacrificed to the clamors of the discontented populace.

The emperor maintained himself upon the throne by largesses to the prætorians and extravagant amusements for the people. He himself fought as a gladiator in the arena 750 times, and delighted to exhibit his prowess by slaying hecatombs of wild beasts with bow or javelin, always under due protection. He affected the character of Hercules, and these barbarous feats made him a favorite with the rabble. The provinces continued to enjoy a quiet and orderly government, but those who came in contact with the tyrant were never safe from his capricious cruelty. At length, after twelve years of empire, he was assassinated by his favorite concubine Marcia, in concert with Eclectus, his chamberlain, and Lætus, the prefect of the prætorians.

Pertinax, a distinguished senator, was at once put forward as his successor, and accepted by the prætorians, by the Senate, and by the people. He was a cultivated and experienced statesman of the same stamp as Galba, but, unfortunately, without a military following. For this reason he lay at the mercy of the prætorians, and had no choice but to buy their favor with a liberal donative. He

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had no intention, however, to remain a mere puppet in their hands, and soon began to enforce discipline among them. This they would not endure, and before three months had expired they broke into open mutiny, forced their way into the palace, fell upon the emperor, and slew him. His short reign of eighty-seven days had been a contrast indeed to that of Commodus. The exiles were recalled; life and property were once more secure; and the finances were recruited by legitimate means. There was no power in Rome, nor even in Italy, which could resist the organized force of the prætorians, and these mercenaries proceeded to offer the Empire for sale to the highest bidder. Didius Julianus, a senator, satisfied their rapacity by the offer of a sum equal to $1000 to each of the 12,000 soldiers. He was presented to the Senate as the choice of the soldiers, and the conscript fathers could but submit in silent wrath to the force of arms, and accept the upstart emperor. Not so the armies on the frontiers. In three independent quarters they flew to arms.

The legions on the Euphrates saluted their commander Pescennius Niger as emperor; those on the Rhine conferred the purple on Clodius Albinus; the soldiers who kept guard on the Danube nominated Septimius Severus. The last-named leader was an African by birth, full of energy and ability; and when once the movement was resolved on, he lost not a moment in executing it. His troops were practiced in arms, well disciplined, and near to Italy. He led them at once to Rome, and without striking a blow reduced the prætorians to submission, captured the wretched Julianus, and put him to death, after a reign of two months, in 193 A. D. The first act of Septimius was to disarm and disperse the prætorians who had supported his rival. He then organized his own most trusted legions as an imperial guard of 50,000 men. Leaving the capital securely in their hands, he advanced steadily to the East to try conclusions with Niger. Arrived within striking distance, he summoned him to surrender to the emperor acknowledged by the Senate. The Eastern pretender, however, showed fight, but to little avail; his forces were defeated, first at the passage of the Hellespont, and again in the defiles of Cilicia; he himself was taken and slain.

Severus was now at liberty to deal with his rival in the West. Clodius Albinus, though gluttonous and indolent, was not without soldierly qualities, and his troops were of high mettle. Severus encountered him at Lugdunum, in Gaul. A desperate battle ensued between the rival armies, and the result was for some time uncertain, but the fortune of Severus again prevailed. Albinus was routed, captured, and put to death. The enterprise of Severus was crowned with complete success, not ill earned by boldness, energy, and conduct. In these qualities he might fairly be compared to the great Julius, but he was wanting in the clemency which distinguished the first Cæsar. On his return to Rome, Severus made a searching inquisition into the temper of the senators toward him, and finding that many among them were kinsmen or friends of one or other of his late rivals, and that no strong affection was felt for him by the remainder, he did not hesitate to strike terror by the execution of forty of their number. The senators stood aghast at his cruelty, but they were cowed, and gave him no further trouble.

The rule of Severus was a pure autocracy; but it was equitable and beneficent. He spent little time at Rome, which he could leave securely guarded by his prætorian army, while the civil government was carried on by the lawyer Papinian. Papinian's council was composed of able jurists who emphasized the theory that the emperor was above all law. Roman law at this time reached the highest point of its development; later legal work was chiefly to systematize already existing law. "In its growth the Roman law was in many ways like the Anglo-Saxon law. It had two chief sources, the written or statute laws, made by the people in the days of the Republic and by the emperors later, and the unwritten law, founded on the customs and precedents established in the administration of the law courts."[1] Severus once more led the Roman legions to Ctesiphon and Seleucia, and impressed upon the Parthians a lasting respect for the power of Rome. In his later years he visited Britain, and penetrated far into the wilds of Caledonia; but he concluded that the safest limit of the Empire was the line laid down by Hadrian, which he ordered to be strengthened by a second rampart. In 211 A. D. Severus died at York, giving as his last watchword "*Laboremus*," as though, in his opinion, the spade were quite as effective an implement of war as the sword.

Julia Domna, the wife of Septimius Severus, adorned her imperial station with many high qualities, but she had the misfortune to be the mother of two princes, one of whom became almost the greatest monster of the whole imperial series. These two brothers, Bassianus (generally known by the nickname of Caracalla), and Geta, were present with their father in Britain at the time of his death. They both set out at once for Rome, but so ill disposed were they toward each other that they kept apart throughout the long journey. The quarrel continued to rage between them in the capital, till at length Caracalla poniarded his brother with his own hand in his mother's arms. The fratricide made no secret of his crime, and proceeded to secure his own safety by the slaughter of every man and woman whom he regarded as an adherent of the murdered Geta. Thousands perished, and among them Fadilla, the last surviving daughter of Aurelius, and Papinian, the minister of Severus, who had refused to write a public defense of the infamous deed. Haunted by the furies of an evil conscience, this rude, illiterate, and hideous monster soon fled from Rome, and roamed about the remoter provinces of the Empire, not pretending to take command of the armies, but slaking his cruel thirst for blood wherever the fancy took him. At Alexandria he revenged himself for some popular gibes by a frightful massacre. His miserable life was protracted by frequent changes of residence for six years. He was killed at last on the borders of Syria at the instigation of his chief minister Macrinus, one of the prefects of the city, who found that his own life was in danger from the tyrant (217 A. D.).

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[1] Adams, "European History," p. 115.

Macrinus easily bribed the soldiers on the frontier to proclaim him emperor, and, in spite of some murmurs at the elevation of another African of low birth, he was for the time recognized by the Senate and the people of Rome. He remained, however, in the East, and set himself to improve the discipline of the legions, and to reduce their emoluments within more reasonable limits. This effort, though much needed, and prudently exerted, produced discontent among the soldiers, and led to the speedy downfall of the usurper.

It will be well to pause at this point and take a general view of the situation of the Empire. The system of government introduced by Augustus was in form and in fact a compromise or balance between three great powers in the state—the Senate, the people, and the army. The emperor, as prince of the Senate, tribune of the people, and commander of the army, professed to derive his authority from each of these three forces, and to exercise it as their constitutional representative. The rule of Augustus embodied this idea in practice with marvelous accuracy. That of his successors in the main conformed to it loyally, in spite of the capricious vagaries of a Caligula or a Nero. Under the Flavii, the Empire rested somewhat more avowedly upon the will of the legions. Under Nerva and his successors, the influence of the Senate was apparently increased, and served to mask the really preponderant power of the army. Throughout this period the popular element in the commonwealth, the Roman mob, fell more and more into contempt. It was enough to feed it and to amuse it. Its suffrages could always be purchased. But in the meantime a new and more important Roman people was growing year by year in numbers and in influence. The liberal policy of Julius Cæsar toward the Gauls and other foreign races had been revived by Claudius, and from his time forward large numbers of provincials were from time to time admitted as citizens of Rome. The sums paid for the enfranchisement of individuals formed an important source of revenue to the imperial treasury. These new citizens cast in their lot with the Roman officials, supported them in their despotic government, and helped them to control any popular movements which might arise. Under Hadrian this class of provincial citizens already comprised nearly the whole free population. Under Caracalla, by the advice of the wise jurisconsults whom his father had placed around him, the edict was issued by which the citizenship of Rome was conferred upon all provincials.

Side by side with this great social revolution, the transformation and codification of the law had been advancing with rapid strides. The old municipal law of Rome was quite inadequate to the needs of a world-wide empire; and generations of lawyers had been working under imperial supervision to incorporate the legal principles and usages of other civilized communities into that logical and harmonious system which became in later times the basis of modern European law. At the foundation of this world-wide system of citizenship and law lay a principle utterly repugnant to old Roman ideas, a principle which owed its gradual acceptance to the teaching of the Stoic philosophers—that of the universal brotherhood and natural equality of all men. The Romans learned it from the Greeks. It was earnestly maintained by Cicero and Seneca, embodied in wise laws by the philosophic jurists of the Empire, and authoritatively enforced by Hadrian, Antoninus, and Aurelius.

The current of religious thought flowed in like manner in an ever-widening channel. The gods of Greece and Egypt were admitted side by side with those of Italy into the Roman Pantheon. The Gaulish deities Taranis and Hesus were identified with Jupiter and Mars, and the Druidical priesthood was replaced by a hierarchy of flamens and aruspices. The Jewish religion was recognized, and Christianity, though never authorized and often persecuted, was generally tolerated. During the period of peace and prosperity which followed the death of Marcus Aurelius, no inquisition was made into the belief of the Christians. Their manners and teaching began to exercise a wholesome influence upon society; the number of converts among families of high rank increased; and the Christian bishops, especially the Bishop of Rome, became almost a recognized power in the state.

Under these circumstances, Rome was not unprepared for the strange phenomenon which now burst upon the world. The children of Mars and Quirinus were required to accept as their chief, their prince, and their supreme pontiff, a stripling from Syria, a priest of the Sun, clothed in the Oriental tiara and linen stole, and invested by the devotees of his cult and nation with a peculiar personal sanctity; and they did accept him. On the fall of Caracalla, the empress-mother, Julia Domna, put an end to her life; but her sister, Julia Mæsa, herself a widow, retired to Antioch with her two daughters, Soemias and Mamæa, who were also widows. Soemias the elder had one son, Bassianus. Mamæa had also a son named Alexander. The young Bassianus, conspicuous for the beauty of his face and figure, became priest of the Sun in the temple at Emesa. The legions stationed there chafed at the hard discipline of Macrinus; they fancied they could detect in the features of Bassianus some resemblance to the house of Severus; they pretended that he was the son of Caracalla, and by a sudden movement proclaimed him emperor. Macrinus was taken by surprise and dismayed by the popularity of his rival; the prætorian troops in attendance upon him were faithful, and almost made up by their valor for the numbers of effeminate Orientals to whom they were opposed; but Macrinus fled, and, with his son, was quickly taken and slain. The contending armies promptly fraternized, and the Senate acquiesced in an appointment which bore some semblance of a return to the principle of hereditary descent (218 A. D.).

The deity of the Sun was worshiped at Emesa under the form of a rude black stone, and under the name of Elagabalus. His priest was designated by the same name, and is known among the Roman emperors as Elagabalus. Ignorant alike of Roman history and Roman manners, the Oriental youth transferred his superstitious cult, his filthy depravity, and his effeminate dress unchanged to the city of Augustus and Antoninus. The period of his rule, which was happily not prolonged, marks the lowest depth of infamy and degradation to which imperial Rome ever sunk. His grandmother Mæsa persuaded him to make his cousin Alexander, a youth of better promise, his colleague in the Empire, and soon after, in 222 A. D., the prætorians mutinied, and put an end to his miserable life and reign.

Alexander was readily accepted as his successor, and took the additional name of Severus. Under this amiable prince the Empire enjoyed some years of peace, and was relieved from much of the taxation imposed by the necessities of warlike or profligate rulers. His minister, Ulpian, carried forward the important work of codifying the law. Raised to power at the early age of seventeen, Alexander was too much under the influence of his mother Mamæa, who seduced him into some acts of injustice and cruelty toward his wife and his father-in-law. The prætorians, when they found that the child whom they had placed upon the throne was resolved to keep them under control, broke into mutiny. But their anger was directed more against the minister than the emperor. The citizens rose in arms to defend Ulpian, but in vain; he was seized and massacred within the palace. Alexander watched his opportunity to avenge the deed upon Epagathus, the prætorian leader; and as time went on he displayed a firmness in dealing with his mutinous legions which enabled him to acquire the mastery over them.

Without being a profound student or an acute philosopher, Alexander was fond of literature, and eager to make himself acquainted with the lives and teaching of the best and wisest of mankind. Among the images set up in his chapel, as objects of devout contemplation, are said to have been those of Orpheus, Abraham, and Jesus Christ. Amid the cheerful contentment which reigned around him, he was never tempted to raise a persecuting hand against the Christians.

At length the affairs of the East, where the Persian monarchy had risen upon the ruins of the Parthian, compelled him to take the field. His operations were conducted on a grand scale, but resulted in no substantial success, though one great victory is ascribed to him. From Asia he returned to the camps of the Danube and the Rhine, and there his career was abruptly cut short by a mutiny, which raised to the purple an obscure Thracian peasant named Maximinus. This barbarian emperor was conspicuous for his gigantic stature and rude prowess; but he was entirely illiterate, and ignorant even of the Greek language (235 A. D.).

Chapter XVI

ADVANCE OF THE BARBARIANS. 235-284

THE usurper Maximin was followed by a succession of emperors whose brief and feverish reigns, with one or two exceptions, have little to interest us. It will suffice to record their names, and the circumstances of their elevation to the purple, after first casting a general glance upon the relations of Rome to the communities around her. The rulers of the state will henceforth be stationed on the frontiers; and the city of Rome will fall out of notice, until our attention is recalled to it by the triumph of the Christian religion.

The increasing force and activity of the barbarians form the chief political features of the period before us. We find them now associated into three powerful confederations, each of which in turn proved too strong for the imperial forces. About the time at which we are now arrived, the tide of invasion was turned on the Rhenish frontier, and the German tribes began to force their way into the Roman provinces. The Chauci, the Chatti, and the Cherusci, united under the common designation of the Franks, at length overcame the resistance of the legions on the Lower Rhine, and carried their devastations through the whole extent of Gaul. Thence they passed into Spain, and, seizing the ships in the harbors, traversed the Mediterranean to its most distant shores. The Frankish conquests, however, were not permanent, and, after the storm was passed, the Roman power was reëstablished within its ancient limits.

On the Upper Rhine and the headwaters of the Danube, in the countries now known as Baden, Bavaria, and Bohemia, four important tribes—the Suevi, the Boii, the Marcomanni, and the Quadi—were banded together under the title of Allemanni. After a protracted struggle with the garrisons of Rhætia and Pannonia, the Allemanni, in 272 A. D., burst the barrier of the Alps, and spread desolation over northern Italy as far as Ravenna. The invaders, it is true, failed to acquire any firm footing, and yielded to the enervating effect of the soft Italian climate; but the Empire was made painfully sensible of its weakness, and even Rome itself was seen to lie almost at the mercy of the barbarians.

The Goths, the most formidable of all the barbarians, became known to the Romans at this period. They appeared on the Lower Danube with their kindred Getæ, and that river proved no effective barrier to their progress. They were daring navigators, who did not fear to traverse the broad and stormy Euxine. They ravaged the coast of Asia Minor; they sacked the rich cities of Trapezus, Cyzicus, and Nicomedia; at last they penetrated the Hellespont, and carried the terror of their name through Greece and the islands of the Ægæan, and as far even as Calabria.

In the Far East the Empire was assailed by another power. The waning monarchy of Parthia had expired, and in its place a young and vigorous Persian dynasty had arisen. Ardshir, the son, and Sapor, the grandson, of Sassan took advantage of the weakness of the Empire, and once more reduced Armenia to dependence upon them. They repelled the attack of Alexander Severus, recovered possession of the recent Roman conquests, and in their turn ventured to invade the Roman provinces of Asia Minor. Farther south the Saracens began to come into notice, harassing the borders of civilization in Palestine and Egypt. Throughout the Empire the country parts were infested by bands of brigands, and government scarcely existed outside the walls of the cities. Innumerable finds of the hoarded coins of this period attest the prevalent sense of insecurity. Of the emperors whose faces appear on the coins of these troubled times, two things are worthy of note. First, however selfish might be their personal ambition, they never neglected the paramount duty of defending the Empire against all assailants; and, second, none of them ever dreamed of tearing a limb from the Empire and setting himself up as an independent provincial monarch. They all looked to Rome as the center of authority, and assumed the titles and functions of Roman emperors.

The usurpation of Maximin was deeply resented by the senators; and the two Gordians, father and son, who held high office in Africa, stood forward as the representatives of this feeling and the opponents of the Thracian upstart. Maximin advanced into Italy, and laid siege to Aquileia; and being delayed there by the gallant resistance of the place, his soldiers mutinied, and murdered him. A few months later his successors, Maximus and Balbinus, whom the

Senate had raised to the purple, fell victims to their soldiery, and the young Gordian, whom the people had associated with them, was now acknowledged sole emperor.

For five years the government was ably administered by his minister, Misitheus. Gordian in person repelled an attack of the Persians upon Syria. But Misitheus died, and his successor Philippus, an Arabian, conspired against his master. Gordian was slain by his own soldiers on the Euphrates, and Philippus reigned in his stead in 244 A. D. But his own troops were in open mutiny, headed by Marinus, who pretended to the Empire. Philip dispatched Decius against him; but Decius, in his turn, was set up by the troops as a rival claimant to the throne. The issue was decided between them at Verona, in a battle in which Philip was defeated and slain.

Once more the Romans saw at their head an emperor of the best Roman blood, who was also a brave soldier. Decius belonged to the old plebeian house famous in history for its patriotic devotion. He had not schemed for power, but it had been thrust upon him. In his opinion Rome could only be saved by a victorious army, and the discipline of that army could only be maintained by a return to ancient Roman principles. In the eyes of one who put his trust in the gods of Rome, toleration was a weak mistake, and Decius insisted that the Christians should conform to the ancient ordinances of the state. The Goths were threatening invasion; and as in former crises of a similar kind, so now, but with unexampled severity, persecution fell upon the believers. Tried by the test of heathen vows and sacrifices, many false professors doubtless fell into apostasy; but the true remnant were drawn together more closely than ever, and confirmed each other in the faith by many noble examples. The storm of persecution, though sharp, was transient. Decius hastened to the scene of war in Mæsia to prepare his legions for the coming struggle, leaving Valerian in charge of the city, with the office and title of censor. In three campaigns Decius opposed a manful resistance to the encroaching foe, and at length gained the distinction of falling, first of all the Roman emperors, on the field of battle. A gallant son perished with him; but the devotion of these latter Decii gained no triumph for Rome.

The Senate nominated for his successor an officer named Gallus, who at once purchased a humiliating peace; but all parties were dissatisfied: Gallus was murdered by the soldiers, and an officer of the Danubian army, Æmilianus, took his place. Against this new pretender, Valerian now advanced at the head of the army of the Rhine, and Æmilianus, in his turn, was assassinated in 253 A. D. Valerian, with his son Gallienus, wore the purple for the period, now unusually long, of seven years. He was not destitute of civic virtues, and bore his dignity with grace and moderation; but he proved incapable of dealing with the barbarians, and during his reign the frontier provinces were often overrun by the Franks and the Goths. At length Valerian girded on his sword, and marched to the Euphrates to check the career of the conquering Sapor. He was, however, defeated and captured at Odessa in 260 A. D.; and after suffering unheard-of indignities, the Persian tyrant mounting on his captive's back into the saddle, he died, and his skin, tanned and painted purple, was suspended in a temple. Sapor advanced into Asia Minor; but was content to return to Persia, carrying with him a multitude of slaves. The indolent Gallienus made no attempt to repair the honor of the Empire, which was better sustained by Odenathus, a Syrian chieftain, who defended Palmyra, and who assumed the title of emperor.

While Gallienus lingered in vicious ease at Rome, a host of pretenders sprung up in every quarter of the Empire. Roman writers have called them the thirty tyrants, while their number did not fall short of nineteen; but, one after another, they perished by the hands of their own troops or by the arms of the emperor's loyal lieutenants. Odenathus alone was accepted as a colleague by Gallienus, and honored with the title of Augustus. He and his gallant queen Zenobia were the most distinguished persons of that obscure but turbulent epoch.

In due course Gallienus met with a violent end in a tumult in the camp. In his last moments he nominated for his successor Claudius, a man of courage and ability, though of mean birth and foreign extraction. With him begins a brief revival of military glory. The civil contests of the last few years had exercised the legions, and elicited such military ability as might exist.

Claudius routed the Goths in the great battle of Naissus in Mæsia, and assumed the name of Gothicus. He then prepared to advance against the Persians, and to compel the submission of Odenathus and Zenobia; but his career was cut short by a natural death at Sirmium, on the Danube, and he nominated the gallant captain Aurelian for his successor in 270 A. D. This man, the son of an Illyrian peasant, proved himself one of the ablest chiefs of the

Roman legions and "the most competent emperor since Septimius Severus." He defeated the Goths on the Danube, but prudently withdrew the outposts of the Empire from the northern bank of that river. With his legions largely reinforced by barbarian cohorts, he hastened to the East, and encountered no unworthy rival in Zenobia, Queen of Palmyra. Zenobia, who was guided by the counsels of the philosopher Longinus, enjoyed and deserved a high reputation for political capacity. She resisted the Roman emperor in the field; but was overpowered and carried captive to Rome, to grace her conqueror's triumph. Aurelian, however, spared her life, and she long lived in dignity and honor at Hadrian's villa near Tibur. The emperor, who was a stern disciplinarian, was preparing to carry out a virulent persecution of the Christians when he fell by assassination in 275 A. D.; and such was the respect in which he was held by the legions, that they consented to wait six months for the nomination of his successor by the Senate. One substantial monument of his short reign remains in the existing walls of Rome, which were first erected in his time as a defense against the Allemanni, who had penetrated into the heart of Italy. The walls of Servius had long been outgrown, and the new enclosure, with its circuit of twelve or thirteen miles, contained within it all the suburbs, and comprised an area three or four times that of the Servian. "His great achievement was the restoration of the empire to a condition which enabled it to endure through successive reigns, till Diocletian, a still abler man."

Aurelian's successor, Tacitus, was selected by the Senate. He was a man of good birth and of good character; but his great age rendered him incapable of enduring the fatigues of war, and he succumbed after a campaign of a few months against the Scythians.

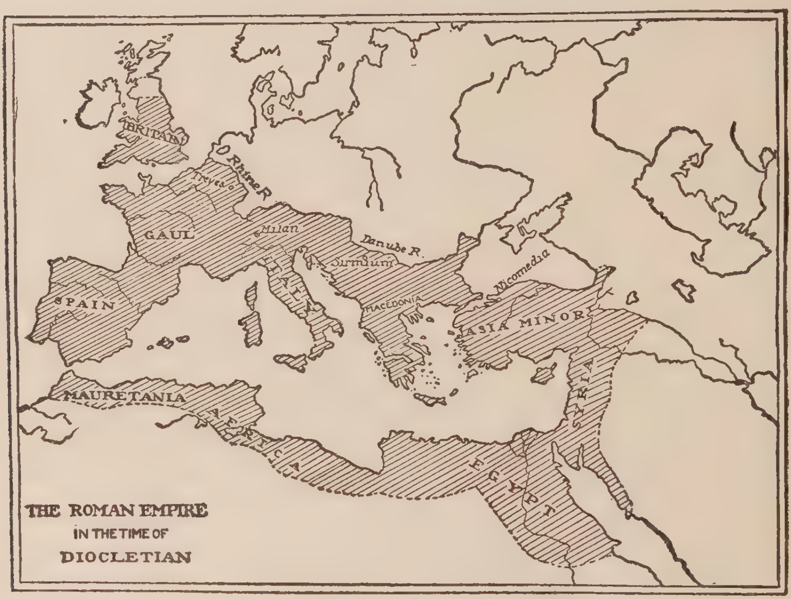
Again the army undertook to create an emperor, and made an excellent choice in Aurelius Probus, a tried and brilliant general, and, like Aurelian, a native of Sirmium. Probus defeated the Germans on the Rhine and the Danube: he next overthrew the Goths, and then, marching to the extreme east of the Empire, compelled the Persians to agree to an honorable peace. The peace of the Empire being thus secured, Probus employed his legions in draining marshes and planting vineyards. He also reëstablished the cultivation of the vine in Spain, Gaul, Britain, and the Danubian provinces, where it had been prohibited since Domitian's time, in the interest of the Italians. But these peaceful labors were distasteful to the legionaries, and, after a useful reign of six years, Probus was killed in a mutiny. Meanwhile another chief, the Dalmatian Diocles or Diocletianus, was on the watch for his own advancement. He had risen from the lowest ranks by sheer force of talent, and had been early assured by a prophetess that he was destined for empire, and that he would attain it by the slaughter of a boar. Assiduous hunting in the forests of Gaul and Mæsia had won for him no prize of power. The army of the East adhered stanchly to him, and the man who best understood the needs of the Empire and of the age was left in undisturbed command of the resources of the state in the year 284 A. D.

Chapter XVII

THE REFORMS OF DIOCLETIAN AND THE RISE OF CONSTANTINE. 284-323

THE accession of Diocletian to power marks a new epoch in the history of the Roman Empire in 284 A. D. The old names of the Republic, the consuls, the tribunes, even the Senate itself, have by this time lost all political significance. The Empire of Rome is henceforth constituted as a pure Oriental autocracy; and the very name of citizen falls into disuse. If the provincial magistrates and assemblies still retain some of their ancient functions, they are strictly limited in their action to matters of police and finance. Hitherto the Senate had been popularly regarded as the legitimate center of administration and source of authority; but in practice it was rarely able, and then only on sufferance, to assert its right to select the chief of the state. The result of this weakness was that the provinces lay at the mercy of the armies. The chief of the strongest army called himself emperor; but, in the absence of a central controlling power, only the fortune of war or the chance stroke of the assassin's dagger could decide who should be emperor. The danger of disruption was becoming yearly more imminent, when Diocletian arose to knit the Empire once more together into a living organization.

Since the reign of Gallienus the senators had been forbidden to take any part in military matters; and this rule, in which they indolently acquiesced, had deprived them of the last remnant of substantial power. Accordingly, in framing his new imperial constitution, Diocletian took no account of the Senate; but such was the traditional dignity of that once splendid assembly that the emperor preferred to remain at a distance from the city where it still held its sittings. In order to put an effective check upon the ambition of his officers, Diocletian associated with himself three other chiefs, each of whom should rule over a separate quarter of the Empire, and combine in maintaining their common interest. His first step was to choose for his colleague Maximianus, an Illyrian peasant, whom he invested with the title of Augustus, 286 A. D. Maximianus was deputed to control the western portion of the Empire, while Diocletian took command in the East. But, finding the burden of government more than could be borne by two rulers, in the year 292 A. D. he created two Cæsars—the one, Galerius, to share with him the Empire of the East; the other, Constantius Chlorus, to divide the West with Maximian. The Cæsars were bound more closely to the Augusti by receiving their daughters in marriage. Each of these four princes reigned as a king in his own territory, having his own court and capital as well as his own army and camp, though the supremacy of Diocletian was fully recognized. It was not a division of the Empire, however, in any sense, for the possibility of division was not contemplated; it was merely a division of the administration of the one and indivisible Empire in order better to secure its unity. Diocletian reigned at Nicomedia over Asia Minor, Syria, and Egypt; his Cæsar, Galerius, resided at Sirmium, and governed the Danubian and Macedonian provinces. Maximian occupied Italy, Africa, and the adjacent islands, with his headquarters at Milan; while Constantius, established at Trèves, undertook the defense of the Rhenish frontier, and drew the forces



THE ROMAN EMPIRE IN THE TIME OF DIOCLETIAN needed for the task from the martial provinces of Spain, Gaul, and Britain.

All the four emperors found serious work to do in quieting rebellious subjects, overthrowing pretenders to sovereignty, or repelling foreign foes; but they all acted with energy and success. Egypt was pacified, Mauretania humbled; Galerius reduced the Persians to submission; Constantius discomfited the Allemanni who had invaded Gaul, and put down the pretenders Carausius and Allectus in Britain. Thus victorious in every quarter, Diocletian celebrated his twentieth year of power by a triumph at the ancient capital, and then returned to Nicomedia. He soon afterward formed the resolution to relieve himself of the cares of government, and called upon Maximian to do the same. On May 1, 305 A. D., being then fifty-nine years of age, Diocletian performed the act of abdication at Morgus, in Mæsia, where he had first assumed the purple at the bidding of the soldiers. On the same day a similar scene was enacted by his colleague Maximian at Milan. Diocletian, completely successful in all his plans, crowned his career of moderation and self-restraint by confining himself during the remainder of his life to the tranquil enjoyment of a private station. He retired to his residence near Salona, in his native province, Dalmatia, and amused himself during his declining years with the cultivation of his garden.

During the reign of Diocletian a serious outbreak of the laboring population occurred in Gaul. The system of imperial taxation was intensely oppressive. The peasants, though legally free, were in fact registered and bound to the soil, in order to guard against any of them evading his share of the taxes. The restriction thus placed upon the natural movements of population produced, in years of famine, pestilence, or war, the direst distress. At the best of times the local officials could only escape ruin for themselves by grinding to the utmost the classes below them. Under this evil system, the wealth and population of the Empire were fast sinking, while the luxury of the magnates and the necessities of the government increased. Gaul had suffered much from the incursions of the barbarians and from civil wars during the last half-century, and the distress thus caused led to the insurrection of the Bagandæ, or rustic banditti. For several years the country was overrun with troops of famished and furious marauders, who attacked all property, and, in the case of Autun, sacked and destroyed one of the chief centers of Gaulish civilization. The insurrection at length died out; but the imperial government failed to learn from it the urgent necessity of devising some less exhausting system of taxation. It was at this time that the most general and violent effort was made to stamp out the new faith altogether. Diocletian was opposed to such a course; but both Maximian and Galerius urged it upon him, and at length prevailed. The persecution which followed was systematic and relentless. Constantius, however, refused to take part in it, and the Christians in Gaul, the country of the Bagandæ, were unmolested. Though Diocletian allowed himself to be persuaded against his better judgment to become a persecutor, we need not suppose that his cruelties were prompted by any superstitious fear of the offended pagan deities such as had dictated the earlier persecutions. Neither is it probable that he had any fanatical desire to prop the tottering edifice of pagan philosophy and superstition against the assaults of the new faith. The aim of Diocletian's life had been to reëstablish a powerful central government, which might command absolute obedience throughout every corner of the Empire. In this he had succeeded; but meanwhile the growing power and organization of the Christian Church had become a state within a state. Courts and prefects did not like to see their authority rivaled by that of metropolitans and bishops. Diocletian would not brook the existence of a power independent of his own sovereign will; and it was in order to extirpate such a power that he declared internecine war against the church. He had undertaken a task which was beyond his or any man's strength, and which was doomed to failure. He had underrated the moral force, the unquenchable vitality of a society which could not only survive, but multiply, in defiance of his ruthless edicts. He lived to see the persecution come to an end, and perhaps even to hear, in his retirement, of the edict of Milan, which guaranteed to the Christians, once for all, an established position in the commonwealth.

Notwithstanding the ability which Diocletian had displayed in the government of his realm, the distribution of power he affected to make on his abdication seems to indicate caprice or weakness. Instead of inviting the two Cæsars to step into the superior position of Augusti, and associate each with himself a Cæsar of his own choice, he allowed Galerius to nominate both the new princes; and Constantius was required to accept for his Cæsar one Flavius Severus, to the injury of his own son Constantine's claims. Constantius was at the time lying sick in the north of Britain. Galerius was watching for his death, and hoping to secure for himself supreme authority over the whole Empire. But Constantius was beloved by his subjects, and especially by the many Christians who had taken refuge under his sway, for his moderation. He was also admired by the soldiers for his victories over the Allemanni and the Caledonians. At the moment of his death in 306 A. D. they proclaimed his son Constantine emperor in their camp at York, and this nomination was received with enthusiasm by all classes throughout the West. Galerius did not venture to oppose it; but insisted that Constantine should be content with the fourth place among the associated princes with the subordinate title of Cæsar. Constantine affected to be satisfied, and devoted himself during six years to the administration of the northern provinces. He thoroughly quelled the barbarians in Britain, and put the Roman province in a complete state of defense. He reëstablished the provincial government which had been overthrown by Carausius. Thence he hastened to the Rhine, where the Germans were making fresh incursions, and completed his victory at Noviomagus by a terrible massacre of his captives. To his own subjects he was merciful and kind, protecting the Christians, and easing the burden of taxation which had pressed so hard upon the people of Gaul. Though personally indifferent to every form of religion, he perceived that Christianity was a rising power. His imagination was fascinated by it; and his vigorous understanding recognized the fact that the Christians were the best husbands and fathers, the most honest dealers, perhaps the bravest of soldiers, certainly the most loyal subjects. However small their numbers compared to those of the pagans, their effective force was indefinitely multiplied by their zeal and earnestness, and by the admiration their long sufferings had extorted. While watching his opportunity for raising himself to the highest place in the Empire, Constantine was perhaps already meditating an alliance with the greatest moral power of the period.

Meanwhile the Senate at Rome awoke for a moment from its torpor, and, resenting the interferences of Galerius with Italy, decreed the title of Augustus to Maxentius, the son of their late ruler Maximian. Maximian himself issued from his retirement on the plea of aiding the cause of his son, and sought to secure the support of Constantine by giving him his daughter Fausta in marriage. Maxentius soon drove his father out of Italy, and the old man found a refuge with his son-in-law in Gaul. Here his restless spirit drove him to make repeated efforts to recover the imperial power which he had resigned. His schemes were more than once frustrated, and he himself pardoned by Constantine, whose soldiers were ardently devoted to their emperor. At length Maximian contrived a plot to take the life of his generous benefactor. He was foiled, and peremptorily required to put an end to his own existence. In the following year occurred the death of Galerius, whose cruelties have rendered his name a byword, and whose death from a loathsome disease was regarded by the Christians as a divine retribution. Severus was already dead; and Licinius, by birth a Dacian peasant, had been promoted in his place. Maximin, the nephew of Galerius, had been for some years the Cæsar of the East. On the death of Galerius, Licinius took possession of the Empire of the East, and he, with Maximin, Maxentius, and Constantine, divided the Roman world between them, all four claiming the superior title of Augustus. Licinius and Constantine were both able and ambitious; the two other princes were weak and indolent. Scarcely had Galerius expired when Constantine crossed the Alps to attack Maxentius. He gained three brilliant victories—at Turin, at Verona, and lastly at the Milvian Bridge, two miles from Rome, where Maxentius, after his defeat, was drowned in the Tiber (312 A. D.). Constantine was received with acclamations in Rome, and speedily acknowledged Emperor of the West throughout Italy and Africa. In the year 313 he issued, at Milan, the famous edict which assured the Christians of his protection. He afterward affirmed with a solemn oath that, while on his march from Gaul, he had beheld the vision of a brilliant cross in the heavens inscribed with the legend, "By this conquer!"

Constantine, who now saw Rome for the first time, affected to treat the Senate with respect; but he took care to prevent the city from ever again giving laws to the Empire by disbanding the prætorian guards and destroying their camp. He veiled his own personal faith in studied ambiguity, assuming the office of Chief Pontiff of the old national religion, and erecting statues of some of the gods of Olympus on his arch of triumph. Constantine had accepted the proffered alliance of Licinius, had given him his daughter in marriage, and had engaged him to set his seal to the edict of Milan. Bearing it back with him to the East, and placarding it on the walls of Nicomedia, Licinius evoked the enthusiasm of the Christians, and had little difficulty in crushing his rival Maximin, who, after suffering three defeats, poisoned himself at Tarsus. But Constantine was jealous of the success of Licinius, and, pretending to have discovered an intrigue against himself, advanced with a small force to take him by surprise. A drawn battle on the plain of Mardia, in Thrace, led to an agreement by which Illyricum, Macedonia, Greece, and part of Mæsia were ceded to Constantine and incorporated with the Western Empire. During the nine years that this compact remained in force, Constantine was actively engaged in reorganizing his army and consolidating his vast dominions. He reduced the strength of the legions to 1500 men, and multiplied the number of them. He admitted slaves to the ranks, and generally selected barbarian captains for command. At the same time he was busily employed in revising the laws, hoping to bring Christians and pagans to live harmoniously together under equal laws; but he soon found that it was impossible to bring the Christians themselves into agreement. The bishops invoked his authority, and besought his interference to reconcile the differences between the sects. He held councils at Rome and at Arles, where the question in debate turned upon the treatment of the weak brethren who had lapsed from the faith in the time of persecution. Yet while the principles of the Christians were respected, their churches protected, and their endowments secured to them, Constantine did not break with paganism. He was still Chief Pontiff of Jupiter, "best and greatest." Vows and prayers might still be addressed to the pagan deities, and even to the genius of the emperor. He even looked forward to being himself enrolled, after death, among the objects of national worship.

All this time Licinius was growing more and more jealous of the Western emperor, and of the favor with which the Christians regarded him. He foresaw that a struggle between them was inevitable, and he foolishly weakened his own cause by withdrawing his protection from the Christians. When at last the two emperors took the field against each other, Licinius openly avowed himself the champion of the pagan gods, and the contest became that of the new faith against the old. Constantine assembled his forces in Greece to the number of 130,000 men, with the labarum or monogram of Christ displayed upon his standard. Licinius encountered him at the head of 165,000 men, and with a host of aruspices and diviners in his train. The armies met at Adrianople, Constantine giving for his watchword " God our Saviour." The Western army, in spite of its inferior numbers, carried all before it, and Licinius was driven for refuge into the fortress of Byzantium in 323 A. D. Thence he was dislodged by Crispus, the son of Constantine, at the head of the fleet; and after some further efforts at resistance he retired to Nicomedia, and made a full submission to the victor. He was promised his life, but the promise was not long observed. On the death of Licinius, Constantine saw himself at length sole and undisputed sovereign of the whole Roman world.

Chapter XVIII

CONSTANTINE THE GREAT AND THE SUPREMACY OF CONSTANTINOPLE. 324-361

CONSTANTINE well deserved the title of "Great" which has been affixed to his name in common with those of only two other conspicuous heroes of ancient history. The changes effected under his auspices were of more value and importance to the world than any achievements of Alexander or of Pompey. The establishment of Christianity, by itself, and regarded only as a politic measure, entitles its author to the highest honor. "That Christianity should become the religion of the Roman Empire is the miracle of history, but that it did so become is the leading fact of all history from that day onward. Explain the fact as we will, Christianity is the religion of the Roman Empire, and it is hardly more. It has been accepted by every land which either became part of the Empire or came under its influence; that is, it has become the creed of Europe and European colonies. Beyond these limits it has made conquests, but they have seldom been abiding." [1] The victories of Constantine in the field, the extent of his dominion, and the firm grasp with which he held it, were all unsurpassed by any ancient sovereignty.

From the time of his elevation to sole power he became more than ever the protector of the Christians, and no flattery was too strong to express their gratitude toward him. In the year 325 the strange sight was witnessed of a Roman emperor, Chief Pontiff of the pagan religion, surrounded by guards and officers of state, presiding over the deliberations of an assembly of Christian bishops. This occurred at the famous Council of Nicæa, where, after the testimony of the bishops as to the tradition of their several dioceses had been received, the final judgment on the most abstruse dogmas of the faith was pronounced by Constantine. For many hundreds of years Roman statesmen had looked eastward; the chief wealth and intelligence and population of the Empire were to be found in the Eastern provinces. Sulla and Pompey had returned to Rome dazzled and debauched by the splendor and the pomp they had enjoyed in Asia. Antonius and Cæsar had been suspected of a design to make themselves Oriental despots. Augustus had entertained the idea of rebuilding Ilium. Diocletian had actually for a time transferred the chief seat of empire to Nicomedia. Constantine went beyond all his predecessors. He had marked the advantageous position of Byzantium when he pursued Licinius within its walls. He now determined to build a new Rome upon the site, and make it the administrative center of the Empire, for old Rome, despite good roads, was a most inconvenient center for the Empire. With prescient ambition, he marked out its walls in person, embracing an area as large as that of Rome. Here he required his nobles to settle and build palaces for their families. Leaving the city and Senate of Rome undisturbed, he quietly created a new Senate and a new hierarchy of officers, and gave them a dignity equal to that of the ancient capital. The new metropolis basked in the sunshine of the imperial presence, and Rome soon sank into the position of a mere provincial capital such as Alexandria, Antioch, or Trèves. Constantinople became the mistress of the world, and succeeded to Rome's proudest title, " The City."

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[1] E. A. Freeman, "Chief Periods of European History," p. 67.

This transfer of the seat of empire to the East was due to something more than the caprice of the emperor. The position of Rome as the center of imperial power had been due solely to her military supremacy. Throughout the long period of the growth of the Republic and of the Empire, Greece and the East, rather than Rome, had been the source whence the intellectual movement of the world had sprung. The laws, the literature, the philosophy, and now at length the religion, of the Empire derived their origin from the lands which lay to the east of Italy. In wealth, in population, in culture, in intelligence, the Greeks and Orientals surpassed the people of Rome and Italy; and now that the conquerors of the world had lost their once preëminent qualities of martial hardihood and practical statesmanship, it was but natural that power should drop from their hands. Another reason for the change may be found in the fact that the most dangerous external foes of the Empire were now to be found in the East. The renewed vitality of the Persian monarchy, and the pressure of the Gothic hordes upon the line of the Lower Danube, required the constant presence and vigilant attention of the ruler in that quarter of the Empire. A better center of operations against these enemies than the new capital could not have been found. Constantinople, in fact, never succumbed to the power of the Goths. It proved a bulwark to the eastern half of the Empire against their attacks, and by diverting their advance into a more westerly line of march, it exposed Italy and Rome to the full force of their onset.

Here, in 330 A. D., at the southern end of the western shore of the Bosphorus, at the point of junction of two continents, Constantine reared his imperial city, where for another thousand years the traditions of Roman dominion were maintained. Here he passed the last six years of his successful life.

Here he celebrated, in 336, the thirtieth anniversary of his elevation to the purple. In the following year, while leading his army against the Persian Sapor, he died at Nicomedia, receiving at last, on his deathbed, the Sacrament of Baptism which he had so long delayed, and which he probably regarded as a passport to heaven; and thus the Empire became officially Christian. Freeman is not exaggerating when he says: "The miracle of miracles; greater than dried-up seas and cloven rocks, greater than the dead rising again to life, was when the Augustus on his throne, pontiff of the gods of Rome, himself a god to the subjects of Rome, bent himself to become the worshiper of a crucified provincial of his Empire."[2]

According to his directions, the Empire was divided between his three sons. Constantine, the eldest, ruled over the Western provinces, probably at Trèves. Constans, the youngest, occupied Italy, Illyricum, and Africa, but held his court, not at Rome, nor even in Italy, but at one of the Pannonian fortresses. Constantius succeeded to the government of the East, making Constantinople his capital, and maintaining, during his long reign of forty years, the struggle begun by his father against the Persian monarchy. It was not long before Constantine and Constans quarreled and fought. Their forces met at Aquileia, and the death of Constantine, which ensued, left Constans master of the entire West in 340 A. D. He took up his residence in Gaul, and led a life of indolent dissipation, till he was surprised by a mutiny of his soldiers and dispatched by their leader, Magnentius. The murderer assumed the purple, and was acknowledged emperor of the Western provinces;

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[2] Freeman, "Chief Periods of European History," p. 67.

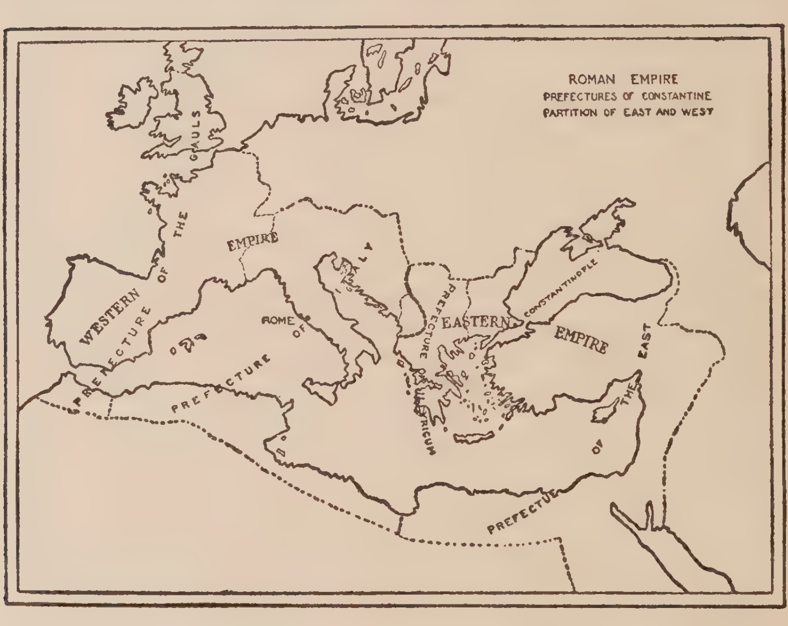
but the Illyrian legions refused to recognize him, and set up an officer of their own, Vetranio, as his rival. Constantine heard at Edessa of this double revolt against the authority of the house of Constantine. He quickly retreated from the Persian frontier, and marching across Asia Minor, and through his capital, he never halted till he confronted Vetranio near Sirmium. A conference was arranged; the aged Vetranio, touched by a feeling of loyalty, admitted the superior claims of his great master's son, descended from his throne, did obeisance, and was forgiven. This reconciliation was followed by a decisive battle with Magnentius at Mursa, in Pannonia. After a bloody encounter, the usurper was routed. He fled first to Aquileia, thence to Rome, and finally to Gaul, but was at last taken and killed. Constantius became the undisputed ruler of the united Empire in 353 A. D. At the time of Constantine's death the soldiers had murdered all the scions of the house of Chlorus except the emperor's three sons and two of their cousins, Gallus and Julianus. Constantius now found it necessary to his security to execute his cousin Gallus, leaving but one collateral branch of his house, Julianus.

It was now thirty years since Constantine had left Rome. A generation of Romans had arisen who had never seen an emperor nor witnessed a great military pageant. The Senate still sat; the consuls still gave their names to the successive years; but no affairs of state were discussed, no provincial government was directed from the whilom mistress of the world. Here, amid the treasures of art collected during centuries of supremacy, amid the cultivated society which had long gravitated to the center of empire, the wealthiest and idlest of the old aristocracy still loved to congregate. Since the edict of toleration all tongues had been loosened; Christians and pagans proclaimed their opinions in hot and sometimes angry debate. But the peace was not broken. Substantial harmony prevailed among all parties. For fifty years Rome had enjoyed a period of tranquil prosperity, such as might, perhaps, be compared advantageously even with the favored era of the Antonines.

Although the scepter had in reality departed from Rome, the citizens were far indeed from recognizing the fact. They did not abate one jot of their ancient pride in themselves and their city, however little ground there might be for such self-satisfaction. The success of Rome had always been attributed to the reverence of her people for the national gods; and despite the progress of Christianity, this feeling was by no means extinguished. The belief in such deities as Jupiter, Venus, or Apollo, had, it is true, almost died out; but in their place the divinity of Rome itself, the genius of the Empire and of the city, had taken a firm hold on the affections and the devotion of the people. The goddess Roma had her temple, the most magnificent of all; she was doubtless there represented by an image of bronze or marble; but the most perfect embodiment of this ideal divinity was the person of the reigning emperor. It had now for centuries been the custom to accord divine honors to the emperors after death; and even during life a kind of divine sanctity had long been attached to their persons. The Orientals worshiped the emperor as a god without hesitation, and even in the West vows were made and sacrifices were offered in his name. Christian though he might profess to be, the emperor did not disclaim these honors nor refuse to accept such worship. Surrounded by this halo of superhuman power and dignity, Constantius made his public entry into the imperial city, which he now saw for the first time.

Constantius had now to learn with surprise how great were the position and power of the Bishop of Rome; and how that the faith of the Christians was a force capable of resisting even his imperious will. Already during his father's lifetime the doctrines of the presbyter Arius had been widely accepted in the East. His heresy, which placed the second person of the Trinity in a lower scale of divinity than the first, was embraced by many as a compromise with polytheism. The Council of Nicæa condemned the heresy, and the heretic was banished; but before his death Constantine restored Arius to favor, and Constantius accepted his teaching, and proscribed the orthodox believers. He went so far even as to depose Athanasius from his see; and when the latter took refuge at Rome, and was welcomed by Pope Liberius, Constantius had called upon the Pope to condemn and excommunicate him. Liberius had manfully resisted the emperor's dictation; he had been exiled to Thrace, and during his absence an Arian bishop, Felix, had been thrust into the see. The Christians then absented themselves from the churches, and now that the heretical tyrant appeared among them, the women came in long procession, like the Roman matrons of old, to remonstrate with him for his sacrilege. Constantius tried to compromise by declaring that Liberius and Felix should both be bishops of Rome conjointly. He delivered his decree in the circus. "Shall we have factions in the church as in the circus?" exclaimed the indignant multitude. "One God, one Christ, one Bishop!" was the universal cry.

Liberius, broken in spirit by his distant banishment, submitted to the imperial will, and was allowed to return to Rome; but the Christians were not to be so easily subdued. When Felix attempted to perform episcopal functions in public, they broke into open riot. The streets and the baths were deluged with blood. The factions of Marius and Sulla were renewed, not for men, but for principles. Eventually Felix fled. Liberius resumed his throne, and was not again disturbed. He prudently stayed away from the council held by Constantius at Ariminium, at which the Arian heresy was formally proclaimed and made the predominant faith. The Council of Ariminium sat in the year 359 A. D. Constantius himself died in 361.



Chapter XIX

PROGRESS OF CHRISTIANITY. 355-604

AFTER the slaughter of Gallus, already mentioned, the only scion of the house of Constantine who survived was Julianus. He had been educated in the Christian religion, and had studied first at Milan and afterward at Athens, where he devoted himself eagerly to the philosophy and the creeds of pagan antiquity. Through the favor of the Empress Eusebia, he was advanced to the rank of Cæsar, and invested, in 355 A. D., with the government of Gaul, which was suffering from the incursions of the Allemanni. His administration of the province was eminently successful; the invaders were driven out; the Rhenish frontier was strengthened.

On his accession, Julian, who had never been in Rome, at once crossed the Bosphorus, and proceeded to Antioch to prepare for an invasion of Persia. His short reign was spent entirely in Asia. At Antioch he cultivated the intimacy of the pagan men of letters, and especially of the sophist Libanus. He quickly threw off the profession of Christianity, and restored with much ceremony the ritual and the sacrifices of the pagan deities. Julian pretended to discover the most refined philosophy hidden under the forms of vulgar idolatry; he also affected an austere life of self-denial, and aimed at proving by his practice that the morality of paganism was superior to that of Christianity.

Julian's expedition against Persia was a brilliant advance. He floated down the Euphrates with a powerful army, and then waited for reinforcements from Armenia before undertaking the siege of Ctesiphon. Disappointed of these succors, he nevertheless penetrated into the interior of Persia. Sapor retreated before him, allowed him to pass by his forces, and then attacked the exhausted Romans in the rear. Julian repulsed the enemy with great spirit, but was slain in the pursuit. The Christian Jovian was acclaimed emperor on the field of battle, and he succeeded in extricating his legions from their perilous position. The imperial apostasy had triumphed for two years only, and, as every Christian held, had been signally punished.

The history of Rome has now become little else than the history of the progress of Christianity. To this progress the apostasy of Julian gave indeed a transient check, but it was succeeded by an era of more vigorous advance. The religious policy of Constantine had been conspicuous for its moderation. He tolerated and even favored Christianity, but he took no hostile action against the ancient religion. He retained the title of Chief Pontiff to the end of his life, and the Roman Senate, the stronghold of paganism, refused to regard him as an apostate, and enrolled him at last among the gods. Doubtless Constantine was politic as well as zealous. He would not forfeit the support of the pagans by overt hostility, yet some of his measures were calculated to advance the interests of the new creed and to depress the position of the old. When the Christian ministers were allowed to share with the pagan priesthood their immunity from the burdens of municipal office, it was a clear gain to them, for they were not weighted like their rivals, with the cost of public shows. The laws enacted by Constantine against divination and magic were a great discouragement to the aruspices and to the pagan priests in general, whose services were closely connected with magical arts and incantations. The closing on moral grounds of the temples of Venus, which had become mere resorts of public licentiousness, was another blow to the old system, and foreshadowed its approaching dissolution.

The Christians might well be hopeful of the triumph of their cause; yet they were still in a minority, and their progress was delayed by two important circumstances. The withdrawal of the emperors from Rome threw the prestige of authority into the hands of the Senate and the nobles, who, as the representatives of the oldest traditions of the city, adhered almost universally to paganism. The intellectual classes, the sophists and the orators, supported the nobles in their resistance to the new faith. Altogether, paganism was the fashion at Rome. It was rarely that the Christians could boast of a convert among the leaders of society, and when such an event occurred they chanted their victory in no measured tones. The conversion of Victorinus, the most popular champion of the worship of the pagan deities, and especially those of Egypt, made a great stir. When it was announced that he was about to recant in public his old opinions, and make a solemn profession of his Christian faith, crowds flocked to hear him, and the impression produced by this and similar incidents upon the popular mind was very strong.

The progress of Christianity was further impeded by the dissensions of Christians among themselves. It is not surprising that in a society collected from every clime and nation diverse interpretations of its fundamental teaching should spring up, and when persecution ceased and a sense of security succeeded, these divisions became embittered, some parties obstinately resisting the teaching of the Catholic Church, despite all its efforts. Meanwhile paganism, with little abatement of external splendor, was slowly crumbling to decay. The temples were still open, the sacrifices were not disused, the priests enjoyed their endowments. But all enthusiasm for the system was dead; the prodigality of offerings and ceremonies was curtailed; the temples fell into disrepair; the priesthood, with its attendant expenses, was regarded as a burden rather than an honor. Had the church been more united, she might perhaps even now have entered upon the inheritance of her predecessors.

It is interesting to observe that Julian was so far influenced by the religion which he was combating that he endeavored to engraft some of its living principles upon the dead stock of the old system, and to bring about not only a ceremonial, but a moral revival of paganism. He felt the force of the argument that a true faith must be shown by good deeds, and he urged his co-religionists to take the Christians as an example in moral conduct, and to emulate them in works of charity, while they excelled them, as he proclaimed, in real piety. He put his teaching in practice by commanding the foundation of hospitals for the sick, a good deed hitherto without precedent on the part of a pagan. But all Julian's efforts to galvanize into life the dead corpse of paganism were in vain. Neither the educated teachers nor the ignorant multitude showed any sympathy for his enthusiasm. They cared not for its ritual nor for its doctrines, and its costly sacrifices were regarded as a burden and suffered to fall into disuse. Against an institution so thoroughly effete, Christianity could not fail to advance with steady progress.

The prevailing attitude of the public mind toward the rival religions which were striving for the mastery was undoubtedly one of indifference, and in nothing was this more plainly shown than in the facility with which the soldiers of Julian, who had daily attended his pagan sacrifices, transferred their allegiance to the Christian standard of the labarum, under which Jovian conducted his retreat. The position of the army was critical, and in providing for its safety it was judged best to surrender the strong fortress of Nisibis, and withdraw the Empire once more within the frontier line of the Euphrates. Jovian seems to have been a man of ability.

In religious matters he showed impartial tolerance toward the orthodox, the heretics, and the pagans; but he did justice to the claims of Athanasius, and reinstated him in his bishopric. After a short reign of seven months, he fell sick, and died before reaching Constantinople in 364 A. D.

The ministers or officers of the late emperor's court chose for his successor Valentinian, a Pannonian soldier of low origin but distinguished prowess. Though devoid of literary culture, he was a thorough disciplinarian, and soon proved his capacity for government. His first act on reaching Constantinople was to divide the Empire with his brother Valens, taking the Western provinces for his own share. Valentinian set up his court at Milan, but soon repaired to Trèves in order to personally conduct the war against the Allemanni. His courage and activity were in full request and he engaged in person in many battles, often coming off victorious, but never able to inflict a decisive blow. He was remarkable for the justice and vigor of his civil government, and he was unfairly charged with cruelty on account of the severity with which he chastised the corruption of his officers. He associated with himself his son Gratian, and educated him wisely for his future position of power. After reigning for twelve years, he died from the effects of a violent fit of passion.

Valentinian pursued the same tolerant and impartial policy in matters of religion as his predecessors. Invested like them with the office of supreme pontiff, he could not persecute the pagans, but he took no active part in pagan ceremonies. On the other hand, he attacked unsparingly the professors of magical arts, which were at that time a highly popular form of superstition, and which were so intertwined with the pagan ceremonial that his prosecution of the one might seem to detract from his impartiality toward the other. Meanwhile the Christians continued to advance their cause with vigor, but we can hardly venture to trace their success to the genuine spirit of their religion. They won their way no longer by the graces of lowliness and meekness, which had signalized the professors of the faith in earlier times.

In the absence of the emperors from Rome, the position of the bishop of that city had become one of no mean secular importance. It conferred wealth and splendor, attracted the devotion of women of the highest rank, and raised its fortunate holder to the pinnacle of fashion as well as of luxury. Accordingly, it became the object of contentious rivalry, and was sought for with all the artifice and violence which had formerly disgraced the competition for the consulship. The episcopal chair of Rome was now indeed a prize worth contending for by an ambitious man. By the West of Europe Rome had ever been regarded as the very center of the universe in things military and secular. The church was still a militant body, fighting indeed with spiritual weapons, but feeling the need of discipline, control, and guidance. Yet it was not till the time of Gregory the Great (590-604) that the Bishop of Rome began to assume a position which faintly foreshadowed the papal position in the Middle Ages. He was still for some centuries, till the quarrel with Constantinople in the eighth century, regarded merely as foremost bishop in the West—*Primus inter Pares.* By insensible degrees he assumed and enforced his jurisdiction over the other bishops of Italy, though the claim to universal dominion was still far from being asserted.

The pagan nobility of Rome, unable, as of old, to repress the church by force, affected to regard the Christians with lofty disdain. Rome had fallen out of the great current of political life, and rested in a quiet backwater; but she was still as magnificent as ever; she still gave her name to the Empire; and her sons still proudly boasted that her greatness was due to the favor of the gods of Rome. The most conspicuous leaders of the old Roman sentiment at this period were two senators of learning and refinement—Vettius Pretextatus, a philosopher and a priest, who had been initiated into the mysteries of Ceres, Cybele, Astarte, and Mithras; and Symmachus, a celebrated orator. These two eminent men were destined to play a prominent part in opposing the advance of Christianity.

Chapter XX

GRATIAN AND THEODOSIUS. 375-408

VALENTINIAN at his death in 375 A. D. left two sons. The elder, Gratian, was in his seventeenth year; the younger, who bore his father's name, and was the child of a second and favorite wife, was a mere infant. A contest for the succession seemed not unlikely; but Gratian, who was of a kindly disposition, obtained the support of the legions on the Rhine and the Danube, and further secured his authority by marrying a granddaughter of the great Constantine. He not only declared himself the protector of his infant brother, but associated him with himself in the Empire. Hitherto the emperors, on assuming the office of Chief Pontiff, had allowed themselves to be invested with the consecrated robe of honor which pertained to it. But the Christian sentiment was too strong in Gratian to permit him to conform to this custom. The early teaching of the great Ambrose, Bishop of Milan, had impressed upon his mind the sacredness of his Christian profession. When the pontifical robes were offered to him by a deputation of the Senate, he positively refused to wear them, though he would seem to have acquiesced in the assumption of the title. The distinction he made may have been a subtle one, but it indicated a more pronounced adherence on the part of the emperor to the Christian religion, and as such must have given rise to alarm among the pagans at Rome.

This feeling of insecurity was doubtless increased when the imperial commands arrived at Rome to remove the statue and altar of Victory which adorned the Senate-house, and before which it was customary for the senators to burn a few grains of incense at the commencement of each sitting. The Christian minority naturally objected to be partakers or even witnesses of this idolatrous practice, and, trusting to the favor of Britain and the support of Ambrose, they had urged the removal of the idol. The pagan senators, thoroughly alarmed, sent a deputation to the emperor at Milan to plead against the enforcement of the order. Gratian re-

ALARIC THE GOTH ENTERS ROME, 410 A. D.

Painting by Wilhelm Lindenschmit

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fused to receive them, on the ground that they did not represent the whole body of senators. When the young Valentinian was associated in the Empire, the opportunity was seized by the malcontents to address a second memorial on the subject to the two rulers. Leave was given to Symmachus to transmit his plea in writing, and to Ambrose was intrusted the duty of preparing a reply. The imperial decision, as might be expected, was in favor of Ambrose. The statue which had been removed was ordered not to be replaced; and this decision was supported by the chief magistrates of the Empire, some of whom took the opportunity of declaring themselves Christians.

Had the fortune of war been adverse, it would greatly have strengthened the case of the pagans, who would have argued, with some show of reason, that such reverses were the just punishment for the slights offered to the gods of Rome. Happily, no such handle was given to the enemies of the Christian religion. The government of Gratian was marked throughout by successful warfare on the frontiers, and by peace and prosperity within them. He himself won a great victory over the Germans across the Rhine. For a moment, indeed, Gratian might claim the united Empire for his own. Valens, the Emperor of the East, had been defeated and slain by the Goths at Adrianople. This battle in 378 A. D., marks the beginning of the final Teutonic invasions of the Empire. After this defeat Valens' authority lapsed to Gratian, who had collected large forces to oppose the barbarians. Gratian, however, hastened to relieve himself of the increased burden of empire, and after a short interval placed his ablest general, Theodosius, on the throne of Constantinople. With the help of the new emperor and of his Frankish allies he effected a settlement of affairs on the Danube, and ceded large tracts in Mæsia and Pannonia to the Goths, where it was hoped they would settle quietly, and cease to be a standing menace to the civilization of the South. Nevertheless, the pagan party continued to appeal both to Gratian and to Theodosius for the restoration of their favorite image; and their anxiety was in some measure due to the fact that the Christian emperor was gradually appropriating the endowments of temples and priestly offices which were falling into disuse or abeyance. Another measure directed against the old religion was the prohibition of legacies to the Vestal Virgins, whose assumption of the virtue of chastity seems to have been specially obnoxious to the Christians.

During these latter years Gratian had been gradually losing the esteem of his subjects, devoting himself too exclusively to the idle pleasures of the chase, and associating on terms of intimacy with the barbarian Alaric, to whom he intrusted the protection of his person. He had thus laid himself bare to the attack of the first adventurous rebel. The army of Britain had long been quartered there, and regarded itself as distinct from the main body of the army. Taking advantage of the weakness of the reigning prince, it revolted, and forced an officer, named Maximus, to assume the purple. Gratian was at the time residing at Paris, and when the usurper crossed the Channel his troops refused to arm in his defense. The luckless emperor fled southward, hoping perhaps for aid from the forces of Valentinian and Theodosius. But he lingered too long at Lyons, where he was captured and slain by his enemy. Theodosius took no steps to avenge his benefactor, but recognized the usurper Maximus as the ruler of the West, stipulating only that Valentinian should retain his sovereignty over Italy, Illyricum, and Africa. The Roman world was thus once more divided between a triumvirate of rulers in 383 A. D.

Meanwhile the young Valentinian was being brought up at Milan by his mother, Justina, in the Arian heresy; and this heterodoxy led to frequent and scandalous contests between the court and the powerful bishop Ambrose, the very champion of orthodoxy. Ambrose, indeed, had rendered good service to his young sovereign by so conducting the negotiations with Maximus as to deter the usurper from advancing into Italy. But his own conduct toward the emperor was scarcely less aggressive; and when at length Valentinian was induced to require his departure from Milan, he arrogantly refused obedience, trusting to the support of the popular sentiment and an array of pretended miracles.

Four years after the death of Gratian, Maximus suddenly crossed the Alps at the head of an army, and appeared at the gates of Milan. Valentinian and his mother could barely escape to Aquileia, whence they set sail to the East and threw themselves upon the protection of Theodosius. Italy surrendered without a blow to Maximus, who paid a visit to Rome, and was there called upon to settle the controversy between the Christians and the pagans. He gained little credit and no assistance from either party, and was obliged to rely solely upon his own armed followers. Theodosius, who had married Galla, the sister of Valentinian, took up the exile's cause in earnest. With him were allied the Huns, the Goths, and the Alani, while the Gauls and the Germans sustained the ruler of the West. The contest was decided at Siscia, on the Save; Theodosius triumphed, and Maximus, hotly pursued, was taken and killed at Aquileia in 389 A. D.

The victor remained three years in Italy, and was for that time at least the actual ruler of the West as well as of the East; but he intended no disloyalty to the young Valentinian, whom he reinstated as emperor over all the provinces which obeyed his father and his brother. Unfortunately, Valentinian was too feeble to obtain that mastery over his soldiers and his officers without which no man could hope to retain imperial power at that critical time. He was publicly set at naught by the Frankish general Arbogastes, whom he had reprimanded before his courtiers, and was soon after assassinated by the agents of the offended barbarian (392 A.D.). Arbogastes might easily have seized the prize of empire which lay ready to his hand, but he preferred to confer the sovereignty rather than to keep it. He chose for the high but empty dignity Eugenius, the grammarian, who had been chief secretary of the imperial household. This man was the last imperial ruler, either in the West or in the East, who professed himself a pagan. His accession was the signal for an outburst of triumph and of fanaticism on the part of the old pagan party throughout Italy. The statue of Victory was at last reinstated in the Senate-house. The confiscated endowments of the priesthood were given back. The Bishop of Milan was horrified by the threat that his cathedral church should be turned into a stable.

Theodosius, indignant at the murder of his *protégé* and the revival of paganism, made preparations for punishing the authors of these crimes. By the time that he was ready to take the field Eugenius and Arbogastes had fortified the passes of the Julian Alps, and stood ready to defend them, invoking the protection of Hercules and Jupiter Tonans. Theodosius trusted with better confidence in the standard of the labarum, and, in spite of some reverses at the first encounter, inspired his troops with his own enthusiasm, and led them to a decisive victory. Eugenius was taken and put to death. Arbogastes fell upon his own sword in the year 394. Till his death the next year Theodosius was sole emperor, and this was the last time that the whole Empire acknowledged one ruler, the division made in 395 between East and West proving permanent.

At the instance of Ambrose, the pagans were spared the horrors of a persecution; but their religion was once more abased, and this time temples, sacrifices, endowments, and idols were swept away. Six months after his victory over Eugenius, Theodosius died. By the pagans he was deified. From the Christians he received the posthumous title of "The Great," which he had well deserved by the services he had rendered to their religion. Theodosius was a brave and able general, and a generous and high-minded man. He was noted for his clemency; and if on one occasion he punished the rebels of Thessalonica with barbarity, he atoned for his crime in the eyes at least of his Christian admirers, by the submission he made to Ambrose when the bishop forbade him admission to the Christian Church on account of his blood-guiltiness. The penitence of Theodosius is celebrated, and has borne fruit for centuries in the church, which it first encouraged to dictate its laws to princes. This act may well serve to mark the turning point at which the old world comes to an end, and the new world commences.

Mention has already been made of the defeat of Valens by the Goths; and it is necessary now to recur briefly to the events which led to it. The Gothic hordes had entered Europe two centuries before in two divisions; the Visigoths had settled themselves in the regions bordering on the Danube and the Alps, while the Ostrogoths occupied the Russian steppes from the Black Sea to the Baltic. After many conflicts, the two hordes were compacted into one great nation under the great King Hermanaric, whose empire extended over the regions of Hungary, Poland, and Courland. Here the Goths changed from a nomadic to a settled and semi-civilized race, and here they received their first instruction in Christianity from their apostle Ulphilas, who translated the Scriptures into their tongue. In the year 374 a new Mongolian horde, of hideous aspect and warlike nature, known in history as the Huns, crossed the Volga and the Don, and begain to press the Goths westward and southward. The Ostrogoths yielded before their fierce assailants, while the Visigoths, to the number of 200,000 warriors, besides women and children, came down to the north bank of the Danube, and begged a refuge in the plains of Mæsia of the Christians of the Roman Empire.

Valens was far away at Antioch, busy with theological controversies, and ill able to detach legions enough to restrain this armed multitude from forcing the passage of the Danube. The

Romans agreed to permit the Goths to settle within the Empire, the Goths promising to surrender their arms and give hostages. It is possible that the Goths would have kept the peace had not the corrupt Roman officials who were in charge tried to make money out of the new settlers and allowed them to buy back their arms and overcharged them for food. Finally the Goths were reduced to misery and marched toward Constantinople. Valens heard with alarm that his lieutenant Lupicinus had been defeated by the barbarians, and hastened from the East to stop their onward course. He found them already advanced as far as Adrianople, within a hundred miles of his capital. Without waiting for Gratian, he gave battle, but suffered a complete defeat, and was himself slain. The Goths had no means of attacking a fortified place like Constantinople; but they extended their devastations all over Thrace and Macedonia, till their career was arrested by the vigor and genius of Theodosius.

The barbarians were never able to prevail against able captains backed by disciplined troops; but when supplied with Roman arms and training they made admirable auxiliaries. Theodosius subdued the Goths and intrusted them with the defense of the Danubian frontier. They might have continued to be useful dependents of the Empire had his successors been as energetic as he was. Before his death Theodosius associated his eldest son, Arcadius, with himself in the Empire of the East, and confided the West to his younger son, Honorius. Arcadius, who was eighteen years old, was placed under the tutelage of Rufinus, who proved a traitor to his interests. Honorius, who was but eleven, had for his minister the brave and faithful Stilicho, a chief of the Vandals. This man was himself married to Serena, a niece of his imperial patron, and his daughter Maria was betrothed to Honorius. After securing the loyalty and strengthening the frontiers of Gaul and Britain, and putting down the revolt of Gildo, the faithless governor of Carthage, Stilicho led the legions of Theodosius back to Constantinople and delivered Arcadius from the intrigues of Rufinus, whose assassination was generally considered a just punishment of his treachery. But he was not in time to save Greece from being ravaged by the Goths. These barbarians had quitted their settlements on the Danube, and, headed by Alaric, had already penetrated into the Peloponnesus, destroying, in their savage zeal for Christianity, all the monuments of paganism. Stilicho inflicted a defeat upon them. But the jealousy of Arcadius was now aroused, and he sent Stilicho back to Italy with gifts and compliments, and engaged Alaric to defend him against his brother and his brother's minister.

Alaric and his Visigoths soon wearied of a defensive attitude and determined to invade Italy on their own account. They burst into Lombardy, and appeared before the gates of Milan. At the first news of danger Honorius had been sent for safety to Ravenna, and Stilicho had rushed into Gaul to collect all the troops he could muster. Returning promptly, he threw himself into Milan, soon in his turn assumed the offensive, and, after defeating Alaric in two great battles at Pollentia and Verona, drove the barbarians for the present fairly out of Italy in 403 A. D. Honorius, who had been cowering behind the walls of Ravenna, announced that he would celebrate this victory of the Roman arms by a Roman triumph. This was the last of the long series, not less, it is said, than three hundred in number; and the last of the Roman triumphs has been grandly described by the pagan Claudian, the last of the Roman Poets.

Rome put forth all the magnificence that remained to her. The palace of the Cæsars was furbished up for the emperor's reception. If the poet may be believed, columns, statues, domes, and pinnacles glittered with gold. He goes so far as to represent the temples and images of the gods as radiant with splendor, but does not venture to assert that any victim was offered in sacrifice by the Christian emperor. We cannot doubt that for a long time previous paganism had been steadily declining before the advancing power of Christianity. If any proof were needed, it may be found in the fact that in the very next year the gladiatorial shows were finally abolished, in consideration of the offense they gave to the Christian sentiment of the people.

The defeat of Alaric was not the last great service which Stilicho rendered to Rome and Italy. The withdrawal of so many legions to oppose the Goths had left the frontier of the Rhine without defenders. Germany was teeming with a host of mingled tribes—Suevi, Allemanni, Vandals, Alans—all forced into movement by the pressure of the Goths and Huns. A vast multitude of these barbarians, reckoned at 200,000, or by some at 400,000, headed by a pagan chief named Radagæsus, burst into Italy, and, ravaging all before them, arrived at Fæsulæ on the hill above Florence. Stilicho had spared no effort to raise forces which might cope with this host of invaders. He succeeded in surrounding the horde with his troops, and defeated them in a decisive battle. Radagæsus made terms of surrender, which were agreed to, but not observed. The chief was put to death and his followers sold into slavery in 406 A. D.

The gates of the Rhine having been once thrown open, this first invasion was quickly followed by others. Gaul and Spain were overrun by the barbarians, and practically lost to the Empire. In this crisis Honorius, urged on by his courtiers and his own suspicions, determined to get rid of the one man still able to protect him against the manifold dangers of the time and succeeded in arresting his valiant protector. Stilicho and his son were put to death; his estates were confiscated, and his friends and followers proscribed.

Chapter XXI

THE SACK OF ROME BY THE GOTHS. 408-410

STILICHO had perished in the spring of the year 408. Alaric had already descended from the Alps, and, passing by Honorius and Ravenna, was marching direct for Rome. At such a moment as this Honorius issued a decree that every officer who would not make a public profession of Christianity should be dismissed from the army. Generides, the best remaining general, retired from the service. His assistance could not be dispensed with; the decree was withdrawn, and he resumed his command. But it was too late to interpose between Alaric and Rome. The ramparts of Aurelian had been repaired, but there were no soldiers to man them, and the citizens were incapable of making any defense. In their terror, the magistrates listened to a proposal to have recourse to the ancient rites, and to propitiate the aid of the pagan gods by a solemn sacrifice on the Capitol. Pope Innocent was sounded on the subject, but refused his consent to any public demonstration of the kind. Meanwhile Alaric, at the head of his nation of warriors, besieged the city. He was no violent or bloodthirsty barbarian, but politic and greedy of money; greedy, too, of supplies with which to feed his armed hosts. He made no attack, but waited patiently till the city should fall by famine. The resources of the city were soon exhausted. It became necessary to treat; but Alaric's demands were so exorbitant that the Romans threatened him with the despair of their immense multitude. "The thicker the hay," he exclaimed derisively, "the easier to mow it!" When at last he named his lowest terms, they asked in dismay, "What, then, would you leave us?" "Your lives!" was the only reply he vouchsafed them.

The ransom paid for Rome is stated in detail as 5000 pounds of gold, 30,000 of silver, 4000 silken robes, 3000 pieces of scarlet cloth, 3000 pounds of pepper. The payment seems to have taxed the resources of Rome to the utmost; and in order to meet, it, not only were the images of the gods stripped of their ornaments of gold and precious stones, but those of them whose material was gold or silver were cast bodily into the melting-pot. Among them was one of Courage, or Virtue, as the Romans called her. Those who professed to forecast the future might well predict that ruin would soon follow such a sacrifice. There is good reason to think that the Roman people, at this terrible crisis, were haunted by misgivings that their humiliation might be due to their abandonment of their ancient faith. Olympius, the minister, who had favored the Christians and robbed the heathen temples without mercy, fell by a court intrigue. Honorius diverted his persecuting zeal from the pagans, and attacked the Jews and heretics instead.

In the following year, 409 A. D., Alaric advanced again upon Rome, and, passing round the walls, seized Ostia. The imperial city, deprived of all her supplies, opened her gates and awaited her conqueror's commands. This time the Goth thought fit to erect a rival emperor at Rome in the person of his minion Attalus, who, though he submitted to Arian baptism, openly favored the pagan party in the city. Three leaders of that party, Lampadius, Marcianus, and Tertullus, were appointed to the offices of captain of the prætorians, prefect of the city, and consul. Tertullus assumed the office of Chief Pontiff, in addition to the consulship, amid the general enthusiasm of the old Roman faction. It was not long, however, before a reaction set in against this new government. Heraclian, prefect of Africa, stopped the export of corn to the city, and the populace rose in its alarm and drove away its feeble ruler with execrations and insults. Alaric required Attalus to renounce his throne, but himself advanced a third time against the devoted city.

The Romans had extorted from Honorius the futile succor of six cohorts, which could hardly have amounted to more than 1000 men. They closed their barriers, and pretended to defend them; but the Salarian gate was opened at night by treachery, and the barbarians entered the city on August 24, 410 A. D., exactly 800 years from its conquest by the Gauls. Alaric, fierce as he was, was no heathen barbarian bent on slaughter and destruction; but his warriors demanded pillage, and for six days Rome was given up to be sacked by them. Doubtless many deeds of cruelty were done during that period of violence. Houses and temples were burned. Women were dishonored. Concealed treasures were drawn to light by threats and tortures. The Christian churches, however, seem to have been respected; the believers and even the

410 pagans who took sanctuary in them were unharmed; and many stories are told of how the ferocious Goths were softened to respectful kindness by the conduct of the holy Christian women. It was well, perhaps, that Pope Innocent was away at Ravenna at the time, and so the strife was not embittered by the denunciation of the heretic Goths by the chief of the orthodox believers. Alaric quitted Rome at the end of twelve days, and led his plundering horde through the center and south of Italy, ravaging towns and villas, devasting estates, and setting free the slaves. Many Roman nobles and senators were reduced to utter destitution; many of them fled beyond sea. Numbers of Christians escaped to Africa and found hospitable entertainment in that flourishing province; but their spirit of levity and worldliness is said to have caused grave scandal in the bosom of a purer and simpler society. Alaric continued his career of destruction to the extremity of Italy, where it was cut short by death. With his last breath he commanded his body to be buried beneath the channel of the river Busentinus, so as to secure his remains from insult.

The sack of Rome by the Goths was accepted by the Roman world as the judgment of God upon paganism, and the old religion never again reared its head. The laws against its ceremonial, long held in abeyance, were now enforced. The temples were converted into churches; and the Christian priesthood stepped into the deserted inheritance of their pagan predecessors. This entire discomfiture of the party which clung to the old Roman religion need not surprise us, when we consider how completely their faith centered in the invincible might, the inviolable sanctity, of the city of Rome herself. In their view, the glorious career of the Roman commonwealth had been due to the protecting favor of the gods. All her defeats, all her disasters, had redounded ultimately to her triumph, and her triumph had been extended over three continents, and protracted through twelve centuries. It seemed to them that her dominion must be destined to be eternal. If Rome fell the world would come to an end; and as their faith in the early mythologies waned, they made a god of their noble city and worshiped and trusted in the deified genius of Rome. But this faith required an outward and visible sign, and with the fall of Rome their creed was hopelessly shattered, amid a wail of disappointment and dismay such as has never perhaps been heard in the world before or since.

The Christians of an earlier age had shared the pagan expectation of the permanence of Rome's dominion. In their eyes, the idolatrous imperial government represented and embodied the spirit and the power of this world which must ever be opposed to the church, which had the promise of the world to come. The only end of the Roman Empire which they could conceive as possible was the destruction of the world by fire, which they had been expecting for so many generations. If such a consummation of all things should occur in his own time, the Christian could still look with hope beyond the fall of Rome, and find consolation in the prospect of the heavenly city, "not made with hands, eternal in the heavens," which he believed was prepared to receive the servants of God. Now, however, to the amazement of all men, Rome was racked, ruined, and discrowned, yet the world did not perish. "A great destiny had been accomplished, a great destiny was about to commence." Augustine seized the opportunity, and issued his powerful treatise entitled the "City of God." In it he showed the vanity of that worship of the City of Man by which the pagan world had been beguiled. In place of imperial Rome, he pointed to the Church of Christ as the true city of refuge in which mankind might find salvation. The pagans had no reply to make. Their long-dominant superstitions shrunk henceforth from the light of day and found an obscure refuge among the traditions of the ignorant peasantry.

The triumph, however, of Christianity was not unalloyed. The masses who were left without a creed had to be swept into the Gospel net, and the easiest way to do this was to make concessions to their superstitious ignorance which detracted from the purity of the Gospel. The doctrines of Christianity were too lofty and too severe to be readily accepted by the corrupt population of the Roman world. But when they saw the old pagan ceremonial rivaled, if not surpassed, by a parade of lights and incense, vestments, pictures, images, and votive offerings, it was not difficult to submit to so slight a change in the outer forms of devotion. The multitudinous gods of pagan worship were replaced by saints of Christian veneration. The statues of the ancient gods found their counterpart in sacred images and symbols. By such devices as these the multitude were induced to acquiesce in the transformation of the heathen temples into Christian churches. There were not wanting high-souled characters in that day who protested against this dangerous

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trifling; but their voice was generally overruled. The patrons of a corrupt reaction were honored and magnified. Vigilantius was denounced; Jerome was canonized. The Christian Church could not fail to suffer in strength and purity by the absorption within her body of such a degraded mass of humanity as the Greek and Roman races then presented. On the other hand, she has conquered for herself a people of stronger moral fiber in the barbarians from whom modern society has sprung, and has molded them to a higher sense of morals and religion than any before them. Since the fall of Rome, and of Roman superstition, the world generally has recognized a higher standard of truth and justice, of purity and mercy. The fall of Rome is still the greatest event in all secular history.

To give briefly an account of the causes of the decline and fall of Rome's power is very difficult. "The most obvious element of weakness in the Roman Empire was the increasing depopulation. . . . The original cause of depopulation in Italy was the slave system, which ruined the middle class of small proprietors and created a proletariat . . . and the financial policy of the later Empire . . . effectually hindered the population from recovering itself . . . the only remedy . . . was itself an active element of disintegration . . . the introduction of barbarians as soldiers or agriculturists. . . . A fourth disintegrating element (after depopulation, slavery, taxation) was the Christian religion, which was entirely opposed to the Roman spirit which it was destined to dissolve. . . . These four elements undermined the Roman world, partly by weakening it, partly by impairing its Roman character and changing the views of life which determined the atmosphere of Roman society."[1]

To say which element had the greatest responsibility is also difficult, but it was probably mainly due to economic causes—slavery (wasting both men and capital), heavy taxes, oppressively levied; a debased currency (with a varying standard of value); the demoralizing practice of providing free grain for the city mobs—such were some of the prime factors in the fall of Rome.

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[1] J. B. Bury, "Later Roman Empire," vol. i. pp. 25, 26, 35.

Chapter XXII

FARTHER ADVANCE OF THE BARBARIANS

423-476

THE Goths had conquered Rome; the Empire of the West lay at their feet; yet, strange to say, they had the modesty and the nobility of mind to decline an inheritance of which they felt themselves unworthy. Alaric was dead. His successor was Ataulphus (Adolf), who during the sack of Rome had got possession of Placidia, a daughter of Theodosius, and had married her. This man was no vulgar barbarian. So deeply was he impressed with the dignity of the Roman Government, and the complexity of the institutions wherewith it maintained the civilization of the age, that he determined not to destroy the Empire, but to protect it. He withdrew his host of Goths from Italy, and carved out for himself a kingdom of the Visigoths in Spain and the south of France. There he ruled as king; but he continued to acknowledge Honorius as emperor over both the Romans and himself. The kingdom of the Visigoths foreshadowed the fiefs of the feudal vassals of a later age. It sprung from the same Teutonic soil, and was due perhaps to the same cast of political ideas which has so largely shaped the polity of modern Europe. Thus the Empire, after its recent degradations, entered upon a short revival of dignity and prosperity. The influence of Rome over men's minds began also to recover itself through the growing authority of her bishops. While the church throughout the West was suffering an eclipse from the inroads of successive hordes of barbarians, some heathen and others heretical, the Papacy was laying the foundations of its power, as the heir to the imperial government which had abdicated its responsibilities.

The Visigoths under Ataulphus were settled in the north of Spain and the south of Gaul; but ruder hordes of Sueves and Alans, Vandals and Burgundians, overran the greater part of both countries, plundering the natives and fighting with one another. The provincials, who, having adopted the speech and manners of Rome, were now known as Romans, found themselves abandoned

423 by the emperor, and submitted to the rule of their new masters, which was perhaps scarcely so heavy as the fiscal tyranny of the imperial administration. Literature flourished in Gaul and Spain. The barbarians were not insensible to the charms of poetry and eloquence; they were captivated by the luxuries of Roman society; they were awed by the strength and subtlety of Roman jurisprudence; they embraced with peculiar readiness the forms of municipal government established in the provinces. But they were not yet ready for the repose of a settled life; and by purchasing the services of one tribe, and employing them against another, their nominal sovereign at Ravenna was still able to prevent them from establishing permanent governments of their own.

During this period various usurpers among the provincials assumed the purple, and grasped at a little brief authority. The court of Ravenna had broken faith with Ataulphus in respect of the payment of a subsidy of corn or money. Thereupon the Visigoths began to ravage the Roman settlements in the south of Gaul. Constantius was unable to defend them, but he persuaded the barbarian to carry his arms into Spain, where he found the Sueves and Vandals opposed to him. The struggle which then began was continued for nearly two hundred years, till at length the kingdom of the Visigoths was established throughout Gallicia, Asturia, and the other northern provinces of the peninsula. The Vandals had settled themselves in the south, where they attached their name to the modern Andalusia. From the middle of the fifth century the Roman Empire was irrecoverably lost throughout the Iberian peninsula.

On the death of Ataulphus, the Goths chose for their chief a warrior of the royal race named Wallia, who at once sent back Placidia to the court of Ravenna. The emperor gave her to his loyal general Constantius, and her son by this marriage succeeded to Honorius, when still a mere stripling, with the title of Valentinian III. (423). The reign of Honorious had been the longest but one of the whole imperial series. He came to the throne as a child, and though he never seemed to grow out of childhood, he counted thirty-seven years of empire. His character was utterly insignificant; he heard the news of the loss of one province after another with an inane jest; he had been found at one of the crises of his career amusing himself with his poultry. It was this insignificance which saved him. Honorius had adopted his sister's son, and when his death occurred soon after, Theodosius II., the Emperor of the East, recognized the young Valentinian as heir to the throne of Ravenna. An attempt was made by Joannes, the late emperor's secretary, to seize upon the government; but Placidia frustrated the adventurer's plans, and secured her son's inheritance.

That inheritance had dwindled to a narrow span. Gaul and Spain had been lost. Britain, invaded by barbarians both by sea and land, was but nominally retained. Illyria and Pannonia were overrun by the Goths. Africa was about to be wrested from the Empire by a barbarian conqueror. Placidia assumed the regency at Ravenna, supported by two illustrious senators, the patrician Aetius, and the consul Bonifacius. Aetius, though by birth a Scythian, has been called "the last of the Romans." He was the last leader of the Roman armies; he gained the last Roman victory. Bonifacius governed Africa loyally till he was traduced to Placidia and recalled. Fancying that his recall was but the prelude to his execution, the story is told that he invited the Vandals to cross over from Spain to his assistance. Genseric, who was reigning in Bœtica, promptly obeyed the summons, and led his hosts across the Mediterranean in quest of the plunder which had tempted both Alaric and Wallia (429). Meanwhile Boniface, reassured as to the intentions of the Ravenna Government, resolved to defend his province faithfully. He maintained the contest valiantly, but the barbarians overcame all resistance, and at the end of five years Valentinian formally ceded to them the entire province. Genseric, however, continued to sail the Mediterranean with his fleet, conquered the great islands of that sea, harassed the coasts of Greece and Italy, and raised the Ostrogoths against the Eastern Empire and the Visigoths against the Western. Finally he allied himself to the yet more formidable power of the Huns.

This terrible people were for the time abiding in Hungary, and occupied the north bank of the Danube under their chiefs, Attila and Bleda. Attila was held in horror, not by the Greeks and Romans only, but by the Goths, and all the other northern triebs who had preceded him into the Roman territories. His mission seemed to be to slay, to plunder, to destroy. He constructed no house nor city. Blood and fire marked his track. He delighted to call himself the "Scourge of God." After vanquishing the troops of Theodosius, and imposing a tribute on him, he turned northward and attacked the tribes on the Elbe and the Baltic, and then crossed the Don and the Volga to attack the Tartars. Finding, however, that the Byzantine court had failed to pay its tribute, he rushed back to the Danube and ravaged Thrace and Illyria. Theodosius in vain recalled the forces he had sent against Genseric; he lost Africa, but did not regain the right bank of his frontier river.

The emperors of the East and West now united in negotiating with Attila to deter him from attacking the Empire. He consented, but threw himself instead upon the Visigoths in Gaul. When Aetius undertook to defend them, Franks, Burgundians, and Romans flocked to his standard. The ravages of the Huns combined every nationality against them. Attila crossed the Rhine at Strassburg, and devastated the country as far as Orleans. That city closed its gates, and determined to resist. Aetius arrived to its rescue, and the Huns, weary of the blockade, retreated. Near Châlons on the Marne they were overtaken and defeated with heavy slaughter (451). Attila, however, made good his retreat with a large unbroken force, and carried off a multitude of captives. Many of these were probably slaughtered, but the story of the massacre of the 11,000 virgins at Cologne is no doubt a figment or a blunder.

In the following year Attila invaded Italy by way of Illyria and sacked Aquileia, Padua, and Verona. The fugitives from these cities took refuge in the islands of the Veneti, where they became the founders of Venice, the Queen of the Adriatic, the Carthage of the Middle Ages. The Huns lingered long in the Cisalpine, but terrified the Romans with threats of an early march to the southward. The court of Ravenna was paralyzed with terror. Aetius was far away. The only man who showed courage was Leo the Great, Pope of Rome. Leo visited the camp of Attila in company with the imperial envoys, and owing either to his success in arousing Attila's superstitious fears or to the Hun king's realization of the natural difficulties (fevers, etc.) in his way, Attila did not go to Rome, but returned beyond the Alps. The Pope pointed out to him the death of Alaric, which followed soon after his sack of Rome. Valentinian at the same time promised a heavy bribe; and under this manifold pressure Attila consented to recross the Alps. Soon after his return to his stockade on the Danube, he was found unaccountably dead in his bed.

Rome had had a narrow escape, but her reprieve was of short duration. The wretched Valentinian, more contemptible even than Honorius, conceived a jealousy of his only defender, Aetius, and poniarded him with his own hand. He was himself assassinated a few months later by a senator named Maximus, who assumed the purple, and requested Eudoxia, the widow of Valentinian and daughter of the younger Theodosius, to accept his hand. She bowed to the odious necessity, but at the same time sent a message to Genseric to avenge the death of the sovereign emperor. The Vandal chief was not slow to seize such an opportunity for plunder; his fleet was in readiness, and the Vandals, in overwhelming force, sailed up the Tiber. In spite of all that Pope Leo could do to save the city, Rome was given up to pillage for fourteen days (455 A. D.). The Vandals heaped their vessels with ornaments of gold and silver, with metal statues, with the precious trophies suspended in the Capitol and the Temple of Peace. They carried off the golden candlestick and other treasures of the ancient Temple of Jerusalem. They stripped the Capitol of half its gilded tiles. Many of these treasures were lost in a tempest, but the golden candlestick reached the African capital, was recovered a century later, and lodged in Constantinople by Justinian, and by him replaced from superstitious motives in Jerusalem. From that time its history is lost. Among the many captives carried off to Carthage were the Empress Eudoxia and the two daughters she had borne to Valentinian. Eudoxia was surrendered to Leo, the Emperor of the East, but Genseric gave one of her children in marriage to his own son, and was proud, perhaps, thus to connect his dynasty with the imperial blood of an illustrious Roman.

Genseric and his horde, when they had stripped Rome of all her wealth, went on to pillage Nola, Capua, and other southern towns. Their sole object was booty, and they did not concern themselves to organize any imperial government. The race of Theodosius was extinct; Maximus had been stoned to death; and the Romans now invited one Avitus, a nobleman of Gaul, to assume the diadem. He was a man of peace, a cultivator of arts and eloquence, a fit shadow to place upon the shadow of a throne. The army and the officers stood aloof. None among them seemed to covet the empty honor. The Senate, however, were soon weary of Avitus, and engaged Ricimer, a Sueve, to expel him from the city. Avitus returned quietly to his home and his garden in Auvergne. For ten months the throne of the West stood vacant, till, in the spring of 457, Ricimer condescended to bestow it upon another Sueve named Marjorianus. This nominee was no man of straw.

He had served under Aetius, and at once set to work to organize the legions and appoint able captains to command them. He led his troops with success against the Vandals, who still troubled the coast of Italy, and even meditated an attack upon Genseric in his own country. At the head of a mingled host of Goths, Sueves, Huns, and Alans, which he had assembled in Gaul, he marched into Spain, expecting to find his fleet awaiting him at Carthagena. Genseric, however, had anticipated him, and by means of treachery had succeeded in destroying the armament. Marjorian was baffled and forced to retire. Ricimer had now become jealous of his authority and conspired against him. Marjorian was compelled to abdicate, and died a few days after doing so, not without suspicion of poison.

The style of emperor was now conferred upon an insignificant person named Severus, who dangled the reins of government for some years. During his reign a pretender named Marcellinus, who seems to have been the tool of the pagan party, wrested Dalmatia from the Empire, and called himself emperor. On the death of Severus, Ricimer ruled Italy for two years with the title of patrician; he seems to have shrunk from climbing himself into the seat of the Cæsars. At the end of that time, however, he appointed one Anthemius to be emperor on the recommendation of Marcianus, the Emperor of the East, to whose daughter he was married. Anthemius received the support of Marcellinus and the innovating party, and he has been regarded, on somewhat slight grounds, as the representative of paganism in its last effort to recover its lost ground. He tried to strengthen his position by a second marriage with Ricimer's daughter, but to no purpose. The jealousy of the Sueve was again aroused; he invited a fresh horde of barbarians to cross the Alps, and in 472 Rome was for the third time taken and pillaged. Anthemius was put to death and replaced by Olybrius, the noble to whom Genseric had given Eudoxia's second daughter in marriage. Genseric died in the following month, and Olybrius followed him before the end of the year. Glycerius was next raised to the purple by Ricimer's soldiers, but within two years he was compelled to retire in favor of Julius Nepos, a man who at least bore a genuine Roman name. Glycerius was allowed to retire to Salona, of which place he became bishop. Nepos was constrained to abdicate in the following year, and found repose in the same quiet spot among the gardens of Diocletian in 475 A. D.

This last revolution was effected like those which had preceded it. Orestes, a Pannonian of Roman origin, had won wealth and reputation at the court of Attila. On the death of Ricimer he obtained the title of patrician, which ranked next to the imperial dignity, and was equivalent to regent of the Empire. Orestes compelled Nepos to abdicate, and conferred the Empire upon his own son, a child of six years, who, by a singular coincidence, bore the names of Romulus Augustulus. The imperial throne depended at this time for support upon a barbarian chieftain, Odoacer, who stood at the head of a number of German tribes. This man allowed Orestes to dispose of the Empire as he pleased, but demanded as the price of his consent that one-third of the lands of Italy should be given to his warriors. Orestes angrily refused; he made peace with the king of the Vandals, and applied for aid to the Emperor of the East. Odoacer, however, marched into Italy with an irresistible force, captured Orestes and his brother Paulus at Patavium, and put them both to death, and extinguished the feeble rule of Augustulus. This occurred in August, 476. The young Augustulus was allowed to retire to the delicious villa of Lucullus at Surrentum.

Very commonly a false meaning is given the date 476, by saying it marks the "fall of the Western Empire." There was no Western Empire to fall, for in theory the Empire had never been divided, but merely two emperors had been set up. The date is also often taken to mark the "turning point" between ancient and medieval history and perhaps serves this purpose as well as several other dates which might equally well be taken.

"The minds of men were really unable to grasp the fact that so vast and perdurable a structure as the Roman Empire could utterly perish. If it seemed to have suffered ruin in the West, it still lived in the East. . . . This belief in the practical indestructibility of the Empire and the consequences which flowed from it three centuries after the deposition of Augustulus in the elevation of Charles the Great, have been reëstablished in their proper place, one might almost say have been rediscovered, by the historical students of our own times, and the whole history of the Middle Ages has been elucidated by this central fact."[1]

The eminent English historian, E. A. Freeman, was prominent in combating this erroneous idea as to the significance of the revolution of 476, and says: "But as the news that the Roman Empire had come to an end would have sounded very strange at Constantinople, so it would have sounded no less strange at Soissons or at Salona. . . . The only difference between the revolution of 476 and a crowd of earlier revolutions was that Odoacer found that it suited his purpose to acknowledge the nominal superiority of an absent sovereign rather than to reign in the name of a present puppet of his own creation."[2]

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[1] T. Hodgkin "Italy and Her Invaders," vol. ii. pp. 540-1.

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[2] Freeman, "Chief Periods of European History," pp. 65, 96.

PART II

ITALY IN THE MIDDLE AGES

476-1494

Chapter XXIII

ODOACER, FIRST KING OF ITALY, AND THE INVASION OF THEODORIC. 476-526

ALTHOUGH a barbarian by birth, Odoacer showed great capacity and solid good sense, worthy of the dignity to which he had now raised himself.[1] It must be admitted, indeed, that he seized and usurped the property of the conquered to enrich his own soldiers; but he had promised to them a third part of the lands on condition that they elected him to be king, and this promise he felt bound to fulfill. Such a procedure would have been fraught with far greater injustice had it not been in a manner necessitated by the paucity of regular inhabitants at that time, and the need there was for more help to cultivate the soil.

The Senate, by order of Odoacer, sent a deputation to Zeno, the Eastern emperor, saying one emperor was enough for all the Empire and that Odoacer would act as his vice-regent in the West.[2]

Odoacer had not reigned many years when a barbarian chief named Theodoric, who led a large army of Ostrogoths, began to threaten the frontiers of the country. The Ostrogoths were a portion of those vast hordes of northern barbarians who poured down through Germany upon the Danube and there divided themselves into two great companies, the Ostrogoths, or Goths of the East; the Visigoths, or Goths of the West.

These Ostrogoths, occupying as they did the lower Danube, came naturally into conflict with the emperors of the East. They had been repeatedly bought off by those emperors with bribes and tributes; and Zeno, who now held the imperial throne at Constantinople, was induced by his fears to invest Theodoric with the consular robe, and give him permission to reconquer Italy to the Empire. Theodoric accordingly marched westward with a large army of followers in order to enter Italy through the Venetian territory.

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[1] "The old imperial machinery of government was taken over by the new ruler, and in all outward appearance things probably went on under King Odovakar much as they had done under Count Ricimer."—Hodgkin, "Theodoric," p. 105.

[2] Bryce, "Holy Roman Empire," p. 23.

At the news of the arrival of these fresh enemies, Odoacer summoned his forces and marched into Illyria in order to defend his states. His army was numerous; but the soldiers, having remained long in a state of inactivity, showed themselves more eager to escape than to fight, and thus suffered a grave defeat in the August of 489 A. D. Odoacer, nothing daunted, raised a second army, and went to confront the enemy on the banks of the Adige, near the city of Verona; and here it was that the great battle was fought which was to decide the fate of these two illustrious warriors.

It is related that on the morning of that memorable day Theodoric went to the tent in which his mother and sister were sitting, and begged them to give him the finest of the garments which they had woven with their own hands (because among the ancients, women of every rank were accustomed to occupy themselves in spinning wool and weaving cloth to make garments for their husbands and children). Theodoric told his mother he meant to show that she had given birth to a hero.[3]

Saying these words, he departed to put himself at the head of his soldiers, and a terrible battle ensued, fiercely contested on both sides. There was one moment in which the Ostrogoths, on the point of being defeated, withdrew their king to the rear, and were just about to seek safety in their own quarters, when the mother of Theodoric, going to meet the troops, cried out loudly, "Soldiers, why are you retreating? If you fly, what other escape remains? Do you wish the enemy to say that the soldiers of Theodoric have disgraced themselves by a cowardly panic?"

These words inflamed the courage of the fugitives, who rallied around the king, resumed the fight, and achieved a complete victory. On various other occasions Odoacer came into conflict with the enemy, but was in every case discomfited. Notwithstanding this, he fortified himself in the city of Ravenna, where he sustained a long siege with rare valor. Finally he was constrained to capitulate through want of supplies, but only on condition that he and Theodoric should reign conjointly in Italy. To this Theodoric pretended to agree; but in a few days after he perfidiously slew

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[3] Hodgkin, "Theodoric," p. 118.

Odoacer at a solemn banquet, together with all his sons and retainers (493).

Theodoric having become sole king of Italy, held the inhabitants at first in a wretched state of oppression. Nevertheless, after a time, the geniality of the climate and the remains of the old Italian civilization had the effect of softening down his barbarian nature, so that he began to occupy himself in restoring the cities and repairing the ravages of war which had brought such misery upon his subjects. He conquered, likewise, several of the countries bordering upon Italy, and drove away the barbarous hordes which sought to invade his territory.[4]

Agriculture, commerce, public tranquillity, now reappeared in that country, which for a century past had been the constant theater of horrible invasions, and had thus been denuded of a great portion of its inhabitants. To remedy this state of things, Theodoric sent to Epiphanius, Bishop of Pavia, begging him to recall the Romans who remained in servitude in other countries, and invite all Italian exiles to return.

Theodoric was an Arian by profession, as were most of the Gothic tribes who had embraced Christianity; but he showed respect both to the Catholics generally and to the Pope of Rome, so that throughout the whole of his reign the Italians lived in the full enjoyment of peace, and were allowed to profess their religion without hindrance. In addition to this, he commissioned Pope John I. to repair to Constantinople to demand of the Emperor Justin that his Arian subjects should, in their turn, be free to profess their religion and be reinstated in their churches, threatening that, if this were not done, he would treat the Catholics in Italy as the Arians were treated in the East. He sent also four senators to accompany the Pope on this mission. As they approached Constantinople the whole city went out with cross and banners to meet them. Justin himself, kneeling before the Pope, did him the honor due to the Vicar of Christ. Upon this the Pope explained to the emperor the intentions of Theodoric, and Justin thereupon promised to leave the Arians in peace, and on taking leave presented the Pope with rich gifts for the churches of Rome. Pope John on his return to Italy repaired to Ravenna to give to Theodoric a narration of his journey and the happy results which it had obtained, but Theodoric, from some unknown motive,[5] threw him into prison, where he soon afterward died.

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[4] "Theodoric reigned in Italy fully in accordance with the traditions of the Empire. He himself had long served the Court of Constantinople."—E. F. Henderson, "A History of Germany in the Middle Ages," p. 25.

A scholar named Boethius, a holy man devoted to letters, to philosophy, and to theology, was at this time prominent at Theodoric's court. Created consul by Theodoric, Boethius had always acted loyally, to the great advantage of his country; but now being accused of carrying on secret negotiations with Justin in favor of Roman liberty, he was seized by Theodoric, cast into prison, and subsequently executed.[6] The same fate overtook his brother-in-law, who was also invited to Ravenna, and treacherously put to death. But in the midst of these unholy transactions the career of Theodoric was cut short. He was attacked with hemorrhage and died within three days. Under Theodoric, Italy had been divided into two distinct peoples—the Romans and the Goths, with practically no attempt at union. By his rule Italy had been "blessed with a generation of order and recovery. . . . Although Theodoric himself never learned to read or write, he encouraged in every way the study of letters."[7]

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[5] Probably because he had reason to dread the union of the two Catholic leaders, and was suspicious of the pretended toleration for Arians.—Hodgkin, "Theodoric," p. 284.

[6] The treatise of Boethius, entitled "*De Consolatione*," written when under sentence of banishment, was translated from the Latin into Anglo-Saxon by Alfred the Great, and subsequently by Chaucer into the English of his time.

[7] Emerton, "Introduction to the Middle Ages," p. 55.

Chapter XXIV

FALL OF THE GOTHS. 526-568

THEODORIC, before his death (526), appointed his grandson Athalaric, then only ten years old, to be King of Italy, under the guardianship of his mother, Amalasontha, who, being a woman of high education as well as rank, invoked the protection of the emperor at Constantinople, and used her best endeavors to bring up her son wisely. But her semi-barbarian subjects, annoyed at seeing the young prince more intent upon letters than arms, took him out of the hands of his mother, and associated him with a number of bad companions. The unhappy Athalaric, thus falling a prey to bad counselors, gave himself up to debauchery and other vices, which carried him to the grave before he had completed his eighteenth year.

Amalasontha, grieved at the death of her son, and at the same time desirous of maintaining her own authority in Italy, married one of her cousins named Theodatus, and raised him to the royal dignity. But Theodatus, not willing to share the supreme power with his wife, wickedly compassed her death, by causing her to be strangled in her own bath.

Justinian had now assumed the imperial purple at Constantinople, and pretended to regard Amalasontha as his friend and ally. Determining therefore to punish this wicked act, he sent a renowned general named Belisarius into Italy at the head of a powerful army (536). No sooner did Belisarius make his appearance in that country than many of the cities opened their gates to him, so that he was soon enabled to reach Rome itself, and finally to enter it peacefully without the least opposition.

The Goths, perceiving that they had in Theodatus a master wholly incapable of governing, raised a favorite captain named Vitiges to the royal dignity, and put Theodatus to death. The new chief immediately laid siege to Rome, from which Belisarius had driven him. But after many sanguinary battles, Vitiges, despairing of success in the open field, betook himself to Ravenna and fortified himself there. Belisarius at once followed him up, and laid siege to the city, which was soon obliged by hunger to capitulate; and Vitiges himself falling into an ambush, was taken prisoner by Belisarius. Upon this the Goths, desirous of having a capable man as commander, offered the scepter to Belisarius himself. Belisarius, however, would not betray the cause of his sovereign, and refused the offer, assuring them that he would govern faithfully in the name of the emperor (540). But soon after he filled a great number of ships with the spoils of Italy, and taking Vitiges with him as prisoner, with his wife and children, and several of the most noble families among the Goths, he returned to Constantinople to lead his army against the Persians.

After the departure of Belisarius the Goths combined and elected a general named Hildebald King of Italy, who was put to death after he had reigned one year. To him succeeded Heraricus, who also fell a victim to his fellow-countrymen.

The only person who now proved himself capable of government was Totila. He had been Duke of Friuli, a province of Venetia, situated between the Alps and the Adriatic, and had already signalized himself by many feats of arms under the reign of his uncle Hildebald. Totila on his accession in 541 showed himself at once prudent and courageous—one whom no dangers deterred from his purposes. The victories of Belisarius and the intestine discords of Italy had reduced his own country to the strip of land enclosed between the Alps and the Po. Moreover, he found himself at the head of a degenerate and down-trodden people, so that, if he gained many victories, they were certainly due more to the incapacity of the Grecian generals than to the force of his own army. But as the fame of his valor spread, many flocked to his standard and swelled his forces, so that he was enabled to advance even into the south of Italy, and occupy Beneventum, Cumæ, and Naples. Though termed a barbarian, Totila showed great humanity and generosity toward the Romans. On entering Naples he distributed food to the people, who were dying of hunger, owing largely to the exactions of the imperial tax-collectors, and did this with the tenderness and care of a father rather than the ostentation of a conqueror. He even supplied the enemy's troops with money and carriages, so that they might depart wherever they wished, and sent a detachment of his own soldiers to accompany them until they arrived at some place of safety. The good discipline of the Goths and the generosity of Totila accordingly soon made the cities of Italy gladly open their gates to him.

At the news of these victories, the Emperor Justinian again dispatched Belisarius into Italy, but this time furnished him with so little money and so few soldiers that he was unable to prevent the king of the Goths from gaining possession of the whole country, and even of Rome itself, which was taken and retaken several times by both parties. It is said that Totila wished to throw down the walls and many of the fine edifices of that superb city, so that the Greeks should not have the means of fortifying themselves there against him. But, on Belisarius entreating that the monuments of Rome's ancient glory should be respected, he allowed the reverence due to those ancient memories to overrule all considerations of self interest. But fortune now favored Totila almost everywhere, and in 549 Belisarius was recalled by Justinian. Ravenna and Ancona alone were left to the imperialists.

On the departure of Belisarius, Totila remained tranquil possessor of Italy, and was able even to extend his conquests to other countries. He placed on foot a powerful army, and took possession of Corsica, Sardinia, and Sicily. He was even preparing to pass over into Greece, when the emperor determined to make one further attempt to retake what Belisarius had lost. This arduous attempt was confided to a veteran general named Narses, who, though well-nigh eighty years of age, was a most accomplished commander. Well furnished with money, he got together a numerous army, and passing along the shores of the Adriatic, entered Italy, planning to meet Totila in Tuscany, at the foot of the Apennines. Narses sent on a herald to Totila, summoning him to surrender, and offering a pardon from the emperor. Totila replied that he would accept nothing but war, and was prepared to conquer or die. Upon this, the herald asked him what day he would fix for the fight. The eighth day, answered Totila.

On the appointed day they met for battle, and the Goths were defeated (553). After many feats of valor and great bloodshed on both sides, Totila himself perished with the flower of his army. The Goths who escaped fell back upon Pavia, and elected Teias, the most valorous of their generals, to be king, but being assailed by Narses on the slopes of Vesuvius, near Naples, he died in the heat of a sanguinary battle, having performed prodigies of valor, and Italy was once again a province of the Empire. Notwithstanding the death of their king, the Goths continued to fight vigorously, so that the battle lasted three whole days. Finally, having retired and called a council, they sent a message to Narses, to the effect that they were ready to lay down their arms, but would not remain subject to the Empire. "We will depart from Italy," they said, "and go to live with our other countrymen. Give us free passage, and the necessaries of life, and allow us to take with us whatever money we have in our houses." Narses hesitated at first, but finally consented; and thus ended the monarchy of the Goths in Italy, after having lasted seventy-eight years. What few Goths remained gradually laid aside their ferocious habits, and became mingled with the other Italians. While war was raging between the Greeks and the Goths, the Franks advanced to assail the northern parts of Italy. These Franks were a German race who formerly inhabited the banks of the Rhine. On the decay of the Empire in the West they invaded Gaul, and after having been driven off several times, succeeded at length in establishing themselves there in the year 451. The country which they chose for their habitation received from them the name of France, instead of Gaul.

The Franks now attempted to make themselves masters of Italy also, but were driven back by Narses, then appointed Exarch, or governor-general, having Ravenna for his capital. Narses by his valor preserved peace in Italy for the space of fourteen years, beloved by the good and feared by his enemies. After having acquired immense riches, he died in 567, in the ninety-fifth year of his age. It is said that Sophia, Empress of Constantinople, envious of his glory, recalled him to the court, saying that an old man such as he was could be fit for nothing but to spin with the women, to which he made reply that he could weave a web which she would not so easily break through, meaning that he would invite the Lombards to descend into Italy.

Chapter XXV

THE LOMBARDS—GREGORY THE GREAT. 568-744

ON the death of Narses, Italy remained well-nigh without government, so that various tribes sought to gain possession of it. One of these tribes in particular, which dwelt on the banks of the Danube, determined to invade the country. They were called Lombards, and gave their name to that portion of Italy which to this day is called Lombardy. These Lombards, attracted by the reports made by adventurers of the mildness of the climate and the fertility of the soil of Italy, descended from the Alps with their wives, children, old people, wagons, oxen, and flocks. They were reported to be the most valorous, but most cruel of all the barbarians. Their king was a ferocious warrior named Alboin. He made his appearance on the Julian Alps, closed all the paths into Italy on the eastern side, and then from the heights above saluted with a cry of joy the country which he intended to conquer. Without a single combat he took possession of the whole of northern Italy in 568. From this date until 1870 Italy was never wholly united under a single government. Terror preceded his arms; the population fled at his approach, and, in order to escape, hid themselves in the forests and the mountains, taking with them everything which they held most precious. Pavia alone ventured to oppose a long and vigorous resistance to the conquerors. The intrepid inhabitants, expecting succor from the Exarch of Ravenna, for three years repelled the assaults of the barbarians. Alboin hereupon swore that he would not spare either man, woman, or child, and that all who had not already perished by hunger should be exterminated by the sword. It is easy to imagine what was the terror of the inhabitants when they saw themselves forced to open their gates to the conqueror. No one doubted that his last day was come. The Lombard prince, as the legend relates, had already arrived at the gate of the city when his horse suddenly fell, and neither spurs nor blows could prevail upon it to rise. At the same time a voice was heard to say, " What art thou doing? Renounce thy oath. Remember that this is a Christian people. Pardon it, and pass on." This unforeseen accident produced a happy change in the conqueror's mind, who, confused and alarmed, calmed his fury and gave a full pardon to the inhabitants on condition that they would subject themselves to his dominion. Having now again mounted his horse and advanced to the magnificent palace of Theodoric, he was so struck by its beauty and magnificence that he chose it for his headquarters, and declared Pavia the capital of the Lombard kingdom.

In spite of all the moderation he now showed, we are not to suppose that this prince became in reality more humane than he was before; for no sooner were the dangers of the war passed than he gave himself up a prey to the most brutal passions. Debauchery, a vice so common among barbarous people, became his favorite pastime, and in the end was the cause of his death. The Lombards in their own country adored a divinity called Odin, and believed that the reward of brave warriors in Paradise was to drink the most exquisite liquors from the skulls of their enemies, and for this reason, when they were assembled at any great festival, they were accustomed to make use of these horrible vessels whenever they could secure them. Alboin, previous to his descent into Italy, had killed the king of the Gepidi, named Cunimund, and had then married his daughter Rosamund. It now happened that Alboin, having given a great banquet to his captains and become half-intoxicated, ordered the skull of Cunimund to be brought in, and filling it with the best wine, amid the shouts of his boon companions, had the diabolical idea of offering it to Rosamund, who was sitting at the same table, in order, as he said, that she might drink to her father's health. At this sight and proposal, Rosamund trembled, and touching the horrible vessel with her lips, said, "The will of the king be done." But she swore to herself that she would take terrible vengeance upon him for the insult.

A few days after she introduced two officers into the king's apartments, and at the moment when he was lying asleep in a drunken fit, caused him to be killed with a hundred wounds (573).

The crime did not long remain unpunished. One of the conspirators had his eyes put out, the other perished by poison. The queen herself did not long survive, but came to an untimely end through the odium which her violent conduct had brought upon her.

On the death of Alboin, the Lombards held an assembly in

Pavia, and elected one of the most illustrious generals of the army, named Clepho, to be king. His reign lasted only two years, he being treacherously killed by one of his own courtesans. After Clepho there was an interregnum of twelve years, in which period no one was elected to the supreme power. And here we may take the opportunity of explaining the form of government which prevailed among the Lombards. Whenever, in the course of their conquests, they added one province to another, they intrusted the government of each province to a duke, who had the administration of all affairs, whether civil or military. Under the dukes there were appointed "sculdasci," or rulers of hundreds, each of whom ruled over a district with the same kind of authority as the dukes, but a district less extensive. Under the rulers of hundreds were appointed rulers of tens, each one of whom presided over ten families, while every single family had also its own head.

Every man fit to bear arms was obliged to serve in war, and every youth, as soon as he was decorated with arms, became head of a family and was designated by the title Arimannus, *i. e.,* capable of arms. The whole state was governed by a king and a general assembly. At the death of the king they elected another, who led the army, presided at the assembly, proclaimed the laws, and adjudged all cases of greater moment. The assembly had the power of electing kings, of approving laws, and of adjudging grave cases. It was composed of all the Arimanni, who came together to the assembly whenever they had to treat of affairs of great importance.

At the death of Clepho, and during the interregnum of twelve years, every duke governed his own province. These dukes increased to the number of thirty-six, and divided among themselves all the possessions of the crown. This states of things caused great evil and much disorder in Italy, because everyone wished to be independent, and no one knew to whom he should have recourse in case of litigation. At length, with a view of securing internal peace and of possessing a head capable of defending them from the Greeks, who were always threatening to turn them out of Italy, the dukes united, and restoring all the possessions of the crown, elected as king Autharis, the son of Clepho. This Autharis was one of the most illustrious of the Lombard kings, whose good sense and valor succeeded in consolidating the tottering monarchy, and in gaining many victories over its enemies. He extended the bounds of the kingdom, and when he had advanced with his army as far as Reggio, in Calabria, he spurred his horse to a rock which rose up in the sea, and touching it with his spear, exclaimed, "Thus far shall the boundaries of the Lombards reach." The most notable event in his reign was his marriage with Theodolinda, daughter of Garibaldus, Duke of Bavaria.

Autharis desired to know something of his bride before the marriage. Accordingly, instead of sending others to make report, he disguised himself and accompanied the ambassador who was sent to ask for her hand. The ambassador on his arrival explained the motive of his embassy to the Duke of Bavaria, and the duke, who had already heard much of the valor of the King of Italy, readily consented. But Autharis, wishing to see his bride before parting, said to the duke, "Allow us to see your daughter who is to be our queen, because I have received a special commission from the king to give him full information respecting her." Garibaldus called for his daughter, whose simplicity and charm of manner evinced the excellence and virtue of her mind. Autharis, turning to the duke, said: "Now that we can esteem her as worthy to be a queen, let us receive a cup of wine from her hands, as is the custom among ourselves." The duke consented, and Theodolinda poured out the wine first to the ambassador, then to Autharis, who scarcely escaped recognition, because his youthful age, fine stature, blond hair, and elegant bearing raised the suspicion that he must be himself the King of Italy.

Returning to his kingdom, he was accompanied by a noble cortege of Bavarians as far as the confines of the Alps, and in the act of taking leave he struck his spear into the trunk of a tree, and exclaimed, "In this manner strikes Autharis, King of the Lombards."

Theodolinda, having become Queen of Lombardy, took a great and beneficent part in the affairs of Italy. She was a Catholic, while, of the Lombards, some were Arians and some pagans; nevertheless, before three years had passed, she gained the good opinion of all. When, therefore, Autharis died in Pavia in 590, without issue, the Lombards proposed that she should choose for her husband whomever she wished, and that they would elect him to be king. She chose Agilulph, Duke of Turin, a prince much admired for his valor and virtue, and a relative of the defunct sovereign.

When the virtuous Theodolinda decided to choose Agilulph for her husband, she at first concealed her intention, and begging him to come to her court, went from Pavia as far as Lomillina to meet him. After having given him a courteous reception, she sent for a drinking cup, and when she had drunk herself, handed it to him. On returning the glass, he kissed her hand, as was usual among the Lombards. To this Theodolinda replied, "This is not the kiss that I should expect from him whom I destine to be my husband and king. The Lombard nation concedes to me the right of selecting a king, and invites you through my mouth to be our ruler." The Lombards, hereupon, held an assembly in a field near Milan, made Agilulph mount upon a shield, and elevating him in the sight of all the people, proclaimed him King of Italy. One thing that made Agilulph's exaltation to the throne remarkable, was his consecration with an iron crown, the story of which is remarkable.

In the year 327 A. D., St. Helena, mother of the Emperor Constantine, is said to have discovered upon Mount Calvary the cross and the nails with which our Saviour was crucified. With two of these nails she formed a crown and a bridle, and sent both as a gift to her son.

The nail which had served to form the bit was then given to St. Ambrose at Milan, where it was always after venerated as a precious relic. The crown went out of the hands of Constantine into those of the Roman pontiffs. Gregory the Great presented it to the pious Theodolinda, and she presented it to the Basilica of St. John the Baptist in Monza. This diadem, called the Iron Crown, is entirely of gold, containing within it only a very thin plate of iron, supposed to be formed from the sacred nail. The height of this crown is five centimeters, the breadth fifteen centimeters. With the crown of iron all the Lombard kings were crowned, and indeed all the sovereigns who could be called kings of Italy. It is now preserved at Monza, about ten miles from Milan.

Agilulph, then, was the first to be consecrated with the Iron Crown. Another historic event which should not be forgotten is, that Gregory the Great was raised to the papal dignity on the very same day that Agilulph was crowned king of the Lombards, and from that date the bishops of Rome took the title of Pope.

The Lombards, as we said, were partly Arians and partly pagans, and Gregory, grieved at hearing of the persecutions which the Catholics suffered at their hands, conceived the design of working for their conversion. He went in person to the court of Agilulph, and succeeded, in connection with the pious Theodolinda, in converting him to the Catholic faith. His example was followed by the other captains of the army, and after that the Lombards came in flocks to abjure their former heresy and embrace the religion of the Italians, beginning at the same time to imitate their customs and modes of life.

About this time St. Columbanus, an Irishman by birth, and founder of a new order of monks, after having labored successfully in France, passed over into Italy. Agilulph received him favorably and assigned him a church on the spot where the city of Bobbio now stands, and added to this a tract of land five miles long and five broad. There the saint founded a monastery, where the monks performed works of piety and labored to reclaim the waste lands in the valley of Trebbia. A short time before his death Agilulph gathered together the chiefs of the nation at Milan, and in their presence had his son Adelwald crowned successor to the throne.

Agilulph died in the year 615. But Adelwald soon after became insane, and Theodolinda herself filled the throne from the death of Agilulph until 625, in which year she died also, to the universal grief of her subjects. Never was there a woman who exercised such influence over the affairs of Italy as Theodolinda. She was a great benefactor to her subjects; through her influence the Lombards embraced Christianity, and she lived a life of piety and devotion to the last.

On the death of Adelwald, the Lombards, venerating the name of Theodolinda, proclaimed her son-in-law Arivald king in 625. At the death of Arivald, Rodwald was raised to the throne. His reign was celebrated for the laws he promulgated in favor of his subjects. He made a digest of the ancient customs of the Lombards, and then adding others, formed a code of edicts for the government of the country. To Rodwald succeeded other kings not worthy of mention, until the time of Lütprand, who began his reign in the year 712. The emperors of the East had allowed the affairs of Italy to fall altogether into neglect. The more they were occupied in warring against the Persians, Saracens, and the other enemies of the Eastern provinces, the less attention they gave to the affairs of the West. The portion of Italy which continued to acknowledge their authority they left to the rule of prefects, and often when a prefect died they neglected to appoint another, so that the Italians began to form the habit of nominating them for themselves.

In consequence of the neglect of the Greeks and the Lombards, it happened that several assumed the title of dukes, altogether independently of the province which they governed, and some of the cities withheld their obedience from any external authority whatever. Among these cities we must enumerate Rome, for although Rome was nominally subject to a Greek governor, yet he could not vie either in dignity, riches, or power with the chief bishop. Consequently, in Rome, the Pope stood preëminent by means of his spiritual dignity and in consequence of the continual benefits which he was the means of conferring upon the people. He had defended them on various occasions from the barbarians, and caused the alms of the Christian world to flow to that center, to be spent in works of public beneficence. In this way the city began to make little account of the Greek emperor, and to be governed much rather according to the will of the Pope. The imperial governor had the name, but the Pope had the reality of temporal power.

Lütprand began his reign by adding new laws to the Lombard code, and Gregory began his pontificate by providing for the security of the city and repairing the walls at his own expense.

The era we are now describing is celebrated for the new dissensions in the church introduced by Leo the Isaurian, Emperor of the East. Leo, making himself a judge in matters of faith, published an edict in 725, in which he ordered that thenceforth all images should be forbidden in the churches. On this account he was surnamed Iconoclastes, or image-breaker. To this edict Gregory II. was opposed, and wrote passionate letters about it to the emperor. But the emperor replied with still greater vigor, and threatened to depose Gregory from the papal throne. On this Gregory wrote a letter, commanding all Christians to retain their sacred images, and to oppose themselves to the "impious" design of the sovereign. Enraged by this opposition, the emperor sent men to Rome charged to assassinate the Pope, but the people, hearing of the designs against his life, lent their assistance, and even killed some of the would-be assassins. Leo the emperor becoming now still more embittered, ordered the few imperial soldiers who still remained in Italy to proceed to Rome and arrest the Pope, but the people of Rome and the other provinces armed themselves and put the imperialists to flight. Exilaratus, governor of Naples, collected fresh forces and marched against Rome, but the people discomfited them, and having taken Exilaratus and his sons prisoners, had them put to death, and then drove the imperial governor from the city.

This universal hatred against the Greeks gave opportunity to Lütprand to assail many of the imperial cities and many of the territories dependent on the emperor, and he had already begun to occupy those belonging to Rome, when Gregory himself took them all under his protection. On this Lütprand formally made them over to the Pope, so that they might never fall again under the imperial dominion. Leo, perceiving that he was fast losing his power in Italy, offered Lütprand many of the castles and territories on condition that he should march against Rome to restore the imperial dominion. The Lombard king was just about to enter the city when Gregory went out to meet him and showed him the wrong he was committing. Lütprand was so moved by those paternal admonitions that he threw himself at the Pope's feet and begged forgiveness. After this he entered Rome alone, and laid his royal cloak and other precious gifts upon the tomb of St. Peter.

Soon after this Gregory II. died and was succeeded by Gregory III., who in a council of ninety-three bishops excommunicated the Iconoclasts. But soon after Leo himself died, and was succeeded by his son, Constantine Copronymus, who proved still more of an iconoclast than his father. At his instigation Lütprand marched once more against Rome and the lands dependent on it. Then the Pope, seeing himself assailed by the Lombards on the one side, and the imperialists on the other, called to his succor Charles Martel, King of the Franks. The authority of Charles Martel induced the Lombard king to desist from his enterprise, and just at this juncture Lütprand died.

Chapter XXVI

RISE OF THE TEMPORAL POWER OF THE POPES

744-888

IN the present chapter we shall first give a brief account of the rise of the temporal power of the Popes. In the early ages of Christianity, the pastors of the church lived upon the free-will offerings of the people to whom they ministered. The office of distributing these pecuniary supplies was committed to faithful men chosen for that purpose, and named deacons, who had to minister not only to the wants of the clergy, but also to widows and orphans, and to the poor and helpless generally.

After the conversion of Constantine to Christianity, however, the emperor himself, as one of the faithful, provided for the building and endowment of churches out of the funds of the state. But just at this time Constantine changed the seat of government from Rome to Byzantium, so that the former ceased any longer to be the seat of imperial power; for when Theodosius finally divided the Empire into the East and the West, Milan or Ravenna generally served in place of Rome as the capital of the western division. After that, the barbarian hordes overran and occupied Italy, but their power was centered sometimes in Ravenna, sometimes in Pavia; so that from Constantine downward the emperors, kings, or princes who held rule in Italy only visited Rome occasionally; and thus Rome itself, instead of being the seat of empire, became simply the seat of the chief bishop in the West, for as such the Bishop of Rome was regarded, owing chiefly to the vast prestige of the ancient capital. But notwithstanding this, the Popes did not as yet possess any temporal dominion. They exercised, however, a moral authority over the faithful; and this was soon converted, as we shall see, into a temporal power.

Leo the Isaurian, Emperor of the East, having declared war against the use of images, sent to Pope Gregory II. with the command that he should abolish them in Rome, and banish from the churches all the relics of the martyrs. This command Gregory resolutely refused to obey, and Leo, persisting in his order, sent to depose the Pope and despoil the churches of all objectionable and forbidden objects. The Roman people on this took part with the bishop, and repelled the imperial forces. Finally, the Senate, in agreement with the people, declared the city independent, and refused any further allegiance to one whom they regarded as a heretic and a persecutor. Upon this, as there was no other governing power at hand, Rome gave itself up into the hands of the pontiffs, hoping thus to be ruled with justice and liberality.

Thus, then, Rome was detached from the imperial, and placed directly under the pontifical power, and this without recourse either to subterfuge or to arms. The events which immediately led to this result were as follows: Gregory III., Leo the Iconoclast, and Charles Martel all three died in the year 741, and Lütprand in the year 744. It was just previous to these events that Charles Martel began to take part in the affairs of Italy, and concluded a treaty with Lütprand for twenty years. The Duke of Friuli, Rachis by name, succeeded the latter on the throne of Italy. Rachis broke the treaty in 749, and threatened new vexations in Italy, so that Pope Zacharias had to reprove him for the injustice of his procedure, reminding him, at the same time, of the agreement made with his predecessor. The king, though a barbarian, laid aside his anger, and afterward, repenting of what he had done, renounced the throne and became a monk. His successor, Astolphus, was an ambitious man, capable of putting schemes in action, but not able to carry them out. He also broke the league made by his predecessors, marched to gain possession of Ravenna, and even assailed Rome itself. The Roman pontiff, Stephen II., went out to meet him at the gate of the city, and begged him to retire. To this the king assented, and entered into another league, which was to last twenty years. But notwithstanding this, Astolphus, violating his word, soon assailed Rome afresh, and placed it under a heavy tribute. On this critical occasion the Pope, not knowing to whom he could have recourse, ordered public prayers and general fasts. He himself, with naked feet, and carrying a huge cross on his shoulders, went in procession through the streets of the city, followed by the clergy and the people, weeping and spreading ashes, and carrying before them on a cross a copy of the broken league. After this he set out with a cortege of prelates on his journey through Italy, traversed the Great St. Bernard, and betook himself to the court of France, for no aid could be secured from Constantinople.

Pipin, son of Charles Martel, had now succeeded to his father in the government of France, and was sojourning in the country when he heard that the Pope had arrived. At the sight of the chief pontiff covered with ashes and haircloth, humbly begging succor for the oppressed Italians Pipin embraced him, and promised to send efficient help.

In 754 Pipin got together a numerous army, and marched toward Italy, the frontier of which reached to the spot where the Sacra di San Michele now stands. Here he found the road closed by a double entrenchment called the "Chiuse," whence the name "Chiusa" is derived, which the village retains to this day. On the one side were the Lombards, who stretched themselves all over the plain of Turin; on the other side were the Franks, encamped in the defile which leads down to Susa. King Astolphus, confiding in his own courage, hoped to assail the enemy by drawing them away from their entrenchments, but was soon driven back; so that the Franks, passing the Lombard entrenchments, pursued their assailants with the greatest ardor, and compelled them to retire upon Pavia, where they shut themselves in together with their king. Astolph, reduced to great straits, sued for peace, with the promise of restoring the cities taken from the Pope, and of making good the loss which his subjects had received. Pipin consented to the proposals of Astolph, and, persuaded of his sincerity, led his army back into France. But Astolph showed himself fit only to ruin Italy and accomplish the fall of the Lombard throne. He soon disregarded his oath and violated the promises made to the King of France. Pipin accordingly marched anew upon Italy, and subjected Astolph to hard conditions, one of which was to disburse a large sum of money as a recompense for the expenses of the war. Pipin presented to the Pope the lands given up by Astolph, consisting largely of the exarchate of Ravenna, and thus he gave a more legal basis, though on a smaller scale than claimed by the "donation of Constantine," to the papal states. But the days of Astolph now drew to an end; going out one day to hunt, he fell from his horse, from which fall he soon after died, leaving his throne tottering and dishonored (756).

The Lombards elected for his successor a renowned captain named Desiderius, who continued to molest the Pope, as well as all the other princes of Italy who chose to be independent of him. This it was which gave occasion to the son of Pipin, named Charlemagne, to put on foot two large armies, and march into Italy. He sent the one by the Great St. Bernard and the other by the usual road over Mont Cenis. On arriving at a spot between Monte Caprario and Pirchiriano—now termed Sacra di San Michele—he descried King Desiderius and his son with an army drawn up against him, and defended by fortifications raised to bar the way. There a battle took place, hotly contested on both sides. Adelchus, the son of Desiderius, with a club in his hand, went on horseback among the enemy, and made a terrible slaughter. It is even said that Charlemagne wished to come to terms, and was about to retire, when happily a spot was pointed out to him which had been left undefended by the enemy. In this way Charlemagne was able to take the Lombards in the rear, and finally put them to flight. Still they rallied once again, and came to a second combat near Pavia, the result of which was a complete victory for the Franks. It is said that the spot where the battle took place was called Mortara (that is, Mortisara), from the great butchery which there took place. Charlemagne renewed the donation of Pipin, though he himself was thenceforth the ruler of Italy.

The fall of the Lombards, and the arrival of Charlemagne in Italy, is one of the most important epochs in history, because it gave rise to the restoration of the empire in the West. It will be remembered that from the deposition of Augustulus in 476, Italy was perpetually the victim of barbarous nations, who thought of nothing else than to make it their prey. While one portion of those barbarians invaded northern Italy, another portion spread itself through the more southern parts of Europe, so that those countries which had formerly been portions of the Roman Empire passed one after the other under the dominion of the barbarian tribes which overran it. In this way Italy had been almost wholly occupied by the Lombards; Gaul, by the Franks; Spain, by the Visigoths and Saracens—all barbarous nations, but brave warriors, who endeavored to found settled kingdoms in the countries which they conquered.

From this it is easy to understand in what a wretched condition the whole of Europe had been when Charlemagne gained sufficient power to reëstablish order in all these different countries. The dangers were great, such as might have terrified any prince less valorous than Charlemagne himself. This great man, however, was worthy to change the whole aspect of the world; and his long and glorious reign is certainly the most remarkable era in the whole of the Middle Ages, since from it took their origin most of those very states of which Europe now mainly consists.

After the victories gained over the Lombards, Charlemagne restored to the Pope all the cities and all the territories of which the barbarians had robbed him, and proceeding to Pavia, took the title of King of Lombardy and Italy, placing on his head the Iron Crown which had been used to consecrate all the Lombard kings (774).

Charlemagne made many changes in the civil government of Italy, abolished many of the dukedoms, divided them into districts, and placed over them counts, to whom he gave power to govern them with the same authority as the dukes themselves. These frontier districts were made by Charlemagne very large and powerful, so as to serve as a defense to the country. They were called marches, and the counts who ruled them were from this circumstance called marquises.

While Charlemagne was adding well-nigh the whole of Italy to his kingdom, and was intent on establishing the power of the Popes, other more formidable enemies, the Saxons, drew his attention to the north. Charlemagne marched out against them, inflicting upon them many a defeat, and ended at length by subjecting them all to his power. Finally, they accepted Christianity and were baptized.

The good fortune which had followed the son of Pipin in his expeditions against the Saxons did not abandon him in those which he carried on against the other tribes of Germany, all of whom were finally conquered and forced to submit to be governed according to his appointment. The Slavonic inhabitants of Germany also soon succumbed to the same power, and were obliged to do homage to Christianity, and to respect the authority of Charlemagne.

This great emperor, having arrived at an advanced age, now reached the apex of his glory; for he held at the same time Germany, the whole of Gaul, a part of Spain, various islands in the Mediterranean, and all but the south of Italy under his dominion. There was only wanting the title of emperor—a title which was regarded at that time as superior to all the kings of the earth, so vivid was the memory of the Roman emperors who had governed the world. But this glory also was soon destined to accrue to the name of Charlemagne. Being called into Italy by Pope Leo III., who was in sore straits owing to the rebellion of Rome, he responded to the call, and proceeded to Rome. It was Christmas Day in the year 800. The Pope himself celebrated mass, and Charlemagne was present with his two sons, Charles and Pipin. When the sacred function was finished, the Pope turned to the king, and placed the imperial crown on his head, crying with a loud voice: "To the most pious Charles Augustus, crowned by God—great and pacific emperor—long life and victory." At these words, the people and priests, both Romans and Franks, who filled the church saluted him with the title of emperor amid thunders of applause.

The coronation of Charlemagne was an event of momentous and far-reaching import, markedly affecting in its results all medieval history and altering for all time the history of Italy and of Germany. The character of the coronation, whether or not the crown was the gift of the Pope, gave rise to one of the most bitter elements in the struggle of the Empire and the Papacy which filled the Middle Ages. By the actors in the scene "the act is conceived of as directly ordered by Divine Providence." [1]

The name of Charlemagne was now known and venerated in the most distant countries. Even the Greeks, who had regarded all the people of Europe as barbarians, had to speak of him with respect, and the Greek empress named Irene was anxious to form an alliance with him. Even the barbarian people themselves —the Arabs and other Asiatic nations—vied with each other in showing marks of esteem and veneration for the new Emperor of the West.

Charlemagne, having arrived at the height of his glory, died in 814 in the seventy-second year of his age, beloved by his subjects, after having reigned forty-seven years as king, and fourteen as emperor. He was admirable in every respect. He rewarded virtue and punished vice as far as lay in his power. He was intrepid in war and devout in religion. In the most dangerous battles he had prayers offered up, and it often happened that the chaplains of the army spent whole nights in hearing confession from the soldiers, who the next day were to come into conflict with the enemy. He was simple in his habits, sober, indefatigable; during meals he had some ancient history, or the works of St. Augustine, read aloud. He took every means to revive the arts and sciences, and promoted civilization and virtue. All these great qualities procured for him the name of "Great," which has been maintained through all succeeding ages down to the present day.

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[1] See Bryce, "Holy Roman Empire," ch. v., where the various theories on the subject are discussed; also in G. B. Adams' "Medieval Civilization," pp. 164-166.

From the year 806 Charlemagne began to feel the weight of his years increase, and wished to provide for the future by dividing his vast monarchy among his sons. To the eldest, Charles, he assigned northern France and well-nigh the whole of Germany. To Louis, the youngest, he gave southern France, his dominions in Spain, and the Valley of Susa. To Pipin he left Italy, nearly the whole of Bavaria, and a portion of Germany. Pipin, however, died in 809, leaving one son, Bernard, who succeeded to the kingdom of Italy. The next year Charles also died, leaving no issue; thus, when Charlemagne died in 814, there only remained of his descendants Louis and Bernard. The former having inherited the portion allotted to Charles, remained emperor properly so called; while Bernard still continued to be King of Italy, but only as a vassal dependent on the emperor his uncle.

Italy at this time embraced five states, viz.:

1. The dominion still held by the Greeks, which comprised Sardinia, Sicily, and parts of Calabria.

2. The States of the Church, a somewhat indefinite tract in Central Italy, radiating from Rome.

3. The dukedom of Benevento, which corresponded pretty nearly with the modern kingdom of Naples, with the exception of those parts held by the Greeks.

4. The remaining part of the peninsula, which formed the kingdom of Italy properly so called, and belonged to Bernard.

5. In addition to this, the little republic of Venice.

The city of Venice, standing upon numerous little islands, is situated at the northwest extremity of the Adriatic Sea, almost at the confluence of several rivers. It was first inhabited by the Veneti, who gave it their name; by and by a great number of Italians established themselves there, desirous of thus escaping the ravages of the barbarians in the fifth century. After 476 it remained nominally a possession of the Eastern Empire. Pipin, the son of Charlemagne, while King of Italy, sought to get possession of Venice, and for this purpose placed a large army on foot, both by land and sea. But after having gained several victories, he suffered complete defeat.

The Venetian Republic, increasing steadily in power, was soon enabled also to discomfit the Arabs at sea, and thus maintain its independence. This was the origin, and this the first glory, of the Venetian States.

While Bernard was reigning in Italy, Louis, called the Pious, called together a diet in the year 817, and declared his eldest son Lothaire emperor and colleague, and promised him the succession to Italy, despite Bernard's rights. He also sent his two other sons, Pipin and Louis, the one into Aquitaine, the other into Bavaria, as kings of these two territories. As the name of emperor carried with it the supremacy both in command and jurisdiction, Bernard took this arrangement amiss, and contended that the dignity of emperor should fall to him, as being son of the second born of Charlemagne, and not to Louis the Pious, son of the third born, still less to Lothaire. Impelled by this ambitious idea, he raised an army and marched against his rivals; but being abandoned by those who had excited him to revolt, he fell into the hands of his uncle Louis, who caused his eyes to be put out, so that he miserably perished. For this act Louis afterward suffered the most lively remorse, and sought to expiate it by fasting and prayer (818).

Lothaire then became the fourth King of Italy of the Frankish race. Coming next in succession after Charlemagne, Pipin, and Bernard, and being the elder son of Louis, he received the title of emperor, while the other two brothers were merely termed kings. Lothaire, imagining himself as powerful as his grandfather, inasmuch as he bore the same title, ordered his brothers to obey him as lord paramount; but they, indignant at being treated thus haughtily, raised a large army, and declared that before many days they would appeal to the judgment of God.

To appeal to the judgment of God meant in those days to have recourse to arms; because it was believed that in battle Providence would give the victory to the most righteous cause, not considering that in the ordinary course of things the victory must accrue to him who has the largest number of soldiers and the most highly disciplined army.

In this case it is certain Providence favored the brothers of Lothaire, because after a sanguinary battle the emperor was completely discomfited. After this, Lothaire thought it best to leave his brothers undisturbed, and made a treaty with them, which is known in history under the title of the Treaty of Verdun, signed in the year 843.

In 828, while Lothaire was still reigning, some African tribes, under the name of Saracens, came into Italy and committed great devastations. Since Mohammed had propagated his faith these Saracens had spread themselves over various parts of the world, and had overrun Africa, with the countries bordering on the Mediterranean Sea. Passing over the Straits of Gibraltar, they took possession of Spain, and occupied even a part of France, and in all probability would have overrun the whole of Europe had not Charles Martel defeated them, and forced them to return into Spain. Still they found means of penetrating into Italy, and attacked Sicily, which was held by the Eastern Empire.

In time they succeeded in getting possession of the whole of Sicily. Being summoned by the Duke of Benevento to return to their own country, they paid no attention to him, but taking arms, carried devastation and slaughter even to the walls of Rome, a Saracen fleet sailing up the Tiber.

The pontiff, fearing that these barbarians would come to sack the basilicas of St. Peter and St. Paul, had the suburb termed the Vatican surrounded by a wall, in order the better to insure its safety. This new quarter, thus surrounded, served as a powerful defense against the barbarians, and was attached to old Rome under the name of the Leonine City—so called from Pope Leo IV., who founded it.

To Lothaire succeeded two of his own relations, first Leo and then Charles, surnamed the Bald. To them succeeded Carlomann, and then another Charles, called the Fat. Charles the Fat was the last King of Italy of the Carlovingian race; but his character was more adapted to ruin than to govern the kingdom, so that people and princes alike revolted, and deposed him in the year 888. Thus finished the dominion of the Franks in Italy, having lasted 115 years from the time that Charlemagne rescued it from the hands of the barbarians.

Chapter XXVII

THE FOUNDATION OF THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE

962-1152

AT the death of Charles the Fat in 888 that part of Italy which acknowledged the supremacy of the Western Empire was divided, like France and Germany, among a few powerful vassals, hereditary governors of provinces. The principal of these were the dukes of Spoleto and Tuscany, the marquises of Ivrea, Susa, and Friuli. The great Lombard duchy of Benevento, which had stood against the arms of Charlemagne, and comprised more than half the present kingdom of Naples, had now fallen into decay, and was straitened by the Greeks in Apulia, and by the principalities of Capua and Salerno, which had been severed from its own territory, on the opposite coast. Though princes of the Carlovingian line continued to reign in France, their character was too little distinguished to challenge the obedience of Italy, already separated by family partitions from the Transalpine nations; and the only contest was among her native chiefs. One of these, Berenger, originally Marquis of Friuli, or the march of Treviso, reigned for thirty-six years, but with continually disputed pretensions; and after his death the calamities of Italy were sometimes aggravated by tyranny, and sometimes by intestine war.[1] The history of Italy, after 888, soon begins to be the history of several states, not of one country, as in England or France. This phenomenon is explained by the reasons given by Adams:[2]

"In Italy, as in Germany, the nation was able to form no government. In both cases . . . the Holy Roman Empire was at fault. In Italy it was a foreign power which prevented the rise of any native state to a sufficient strength to absorb the whole peninsula. To the influence of the Empire must be added that of the Papacy as an equally responsible cause—as the one most responsible in the last centuries of the Middle Ages, after the Empire had practically disappeared; and in modern times the position of the Pope, as sovereign of a little state in Central Italy, had forced him, as a matter of self-defense, to use all possible means to prevent the rise of any threatening power in Italy, from the days of the Lombards down . . . to Victor Emmanuel."

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[1] Berenger, being grandson by a daughter of Louis the Pious, may be reckoned of the Carlovingian family.

[2] Adams, "Medieval Civilization," p. 360.

The Hungarians desolated Lombardy; the southern coasts were infested by the Saracens, now masters of Sicily. Plunged in an abyss from which she saw no other means of extricating herself, Italy lost sight of her favorite independence, and called in the assistance of Otho I., King of Germany. Little opposition was made to this powerful monarch. Berenger II., the reigning sovereign of Italy, submitted to hold the kingdom of him as a fief. But some years afterward, new disturbances arising, Otho descended from the Alps a second time, deposed Berenger, and received at the hands of Pope John XII. the imperial dignity, which had been suspended for nearly forty years (962).

The restored Empire from this date until its final extinction in 1806 bore the title of the Holy Roman Empire. From this time forth we see in full play the two famous medieval theories—of the divine, universal empire, commissioned to rule in things temporal; and of the divine, universal church, commissioned to rule in things spiritual. In theory, absolute harmony should prevail between these two; in fact, the struggle between them continued until the growth of modern nations and the Protestant revolution shattered the one theory and limited the application of the other.[8]

Every ancient prejudice, every recollection, whether of Augustus or of Charlemagne, had led the Italians to annex the notion of sovereignty to the name of Roman emperor; nor were Otho or his two immediate descendants by any means inclined to waive these supposed prerogatives, which they were well able to enforce. Most of the Lombard princes acquiesced without apparent repugnance in the new German government, which was conducted by Otho the Great with much prudence and vigor, and occasionally with severity. The citizens of Lombardy were still better satisfied with a change that insured a more tranquil and regular administration than they had experienced under the preceding kings. But in one, and that the chief of Italian cities, very different sentiments were prevalent. We find, indeed, a considerable obscurity spread over the internal history of Rome during the long period from the recovery of Italy by Belisarius to the end of the eleventh century. The Popes appear to have possessed some measure of temporal power, even while the city was professedly governed by the exarchs of Ravenna, in the name of the Eastern Empire. This power became more extensive after her separation from Constantinople. It was, however, subordinate to the undeniable sovereignty of the new imperial family, who were supposed to enter upon all the rights of their predecessors. There was always an imperial officer or prefect, in that city, to render criminal justice; an oath of allegiance to the emperor was taken by the people; and upon any irregular election of a Pope, a circumstance by no means unusual, the emperors held themselves entitled to interpose. But the institutions of the Romans were republican. Amid the darkness of the tenth century, which no contemporary historian dissipates, we faintly distinguish the awful names of Senate, consuls, and tribunes, the domestic magistracy of Rome. These shadows of past glory strike us at first with surprise; yet there is no improbability in the supposition that a city so renowned and populous, and so happily sheltered from the usurpation of the Lombards, might have preserved, or might afterward establish, a kind of municipal government, which it would be natural to dignify with those august titles of antiquity. During that anarchy which ensued upon the fall of the Carlovingian dynasty, the Romans acquired an independence which they did not deserve. The city became a prey to the most terrible disorders; the papal chair was sought for at best by bribery or controlling influence, often by violence or assassination; it was filled by such men as naturally rise by such means, whose sway was precarious, and generally ended either in their murder or degradation. For many years the supreme pontiffs were forced upon the church by two women of high rank but infamous reputation, Theodora and her daughter Marozia. The kings of Italy, whose election in a diet of Lombard princes and bishops at Roncaglia was not conceived to convey any pretension to the sovereignty of Rome, could never obtain any decided influence in papal elections, which were the object of struggling factions among the resident nobility. In this temper of the Romans, they were ill disposed to resume habits of obedience to a foreign sovereign. The next year after Otho's coronation they rebelled, the Pope at their head (963), but were, of course, subdued without difficulty. The same republican spirit broke out whenever the emperors were absent in Germany, especially during the minority of Otho III., and directed itself against the temporal superiority of the Pope. But when that emperor attained manhood, he besieged and took the city, crushing all resistance by measures of severity; and especially by the execution of Crescentius, a leader of the popular faction, to whose instigation the tumultuous license of Rome was principally ascribed.

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[8] See Bryce, "Holy Roman Empire," ch. vii.; Emerton, "Medieval Europe," chs. iv., v.

At the death of Otho III. without children, in 1002, the compact between Italy and the emperors of the house of Saxony was determined. Her engagement of fidelity was certainly not applicable to every sovereign whom the princes of Germany might raise to their throne. Accordingly, Ardoin, Marquis of Ivrea, was elected King of Italy. But a German party existed among the Lombard princes and bishops, to which his insolent demeanor soon gave a pretext for inviting Henry II., the new King of Germany, collaterally related to their late sovereign. Ardoin was deserted by most of the Italians, but retained his former subjects in Piedmont, and disputed the crown for many years with Henry, who passed very little time in Italy. During this period there was hardly any recognized government; and the Lombards became more and more accustomed, through necessity, to protect themselves, and to provide for their own internal police. Meanwhile the German nation had become odious to the Italians. The rude soldiery, insolent and addicted to intoxication, were engaged in frequent disputes with the citizens, wherein the latter, as is usual in similar cases, were exposed first to the summary vengeance of the troops, and afterward to penal chastisement for sedition. In one of these tumults, at the entry of Henry II., in 1004, the city of Pavia was burned to the ground, which inspired its inhabitants with a constant animosity against the emperor. Upon his death in 1024, the Italians were disposed to break once more their connection with Germany, which had elected as sovereign Conrad, Duke of Franconia. They offered their crown to Robert, King of France, and to William, Duke of Guienne; but neither of them was imprudent enough to involve himself in the difficult and faithless politics of Italy. Eribert, Archbishop of Milan, accompanied by some other chief men of Lombardy, repaired to Constance, and tendered the crown to Conrad, which he was already disposed to claim as a sort of dependency upon Germany (1024). It does not appear that either Conrad or his successors were ever regularly elected to reign over Italy; but whether this ceremony took place or not, we may certainly date from that time the subjection of Italy to the Germanic body.

It became an unquestionable maxim that the votes of a few German princes conferred a right to the sovereignty of a country which had never been conquered, and which had never formally recognized this superiority. But it was an equally fundamental rule that the elected King of Germany could not assume the title of Roman emperor until his coronation by the Pope. The middle appellation of King of the Romans was invented as a sort of approximation to the imperial dignity. It was not till the reign of Maximilian that the actual coronation at Rome was dispensed with, and the title of emperor taken immediately after the election.

The period between Conrad of Franconia and Frederick Barbarossa, or from about the middle of the eleventh to that of the twelfth century, is marked by three great events in Italian history; the struggle between the Empire and the Papacy for ecclesiastical investitures, the establishment of the Norman kingdom in Naples, and the formation of distinct and nearly independent republics among the cities of Lombardy. The first of these cannot be treated here except most briefly, for its belongs more properly in a history of the Papacy. But it produced a long and almost incessant state of disturbance in Italy, and should be mentioned at present as one of the main causes which excited in that country a systematic opposition to the imperial authority.

The southern provinces of Italy, in the beginning of the eleventh century, were chiefly subject to the Greek Empire, which had latterly recovered part of its losses. They were governed by a lieutenant, styled Catapan,[4] who resided at Bari, in Apulia. On the Mediterranean coast three duchies, or rather republics, of Naples, Gaeta, and Amalfi, had for several ages preserved their connection with the Greek Empire, and acknowledged its nominal sovereignty. The Lombard principalities of Benevento, Salerno, and Capua had much declined from their ancient splendor. The Greeks were, however, not likely to attempt any further conquests: The court of Constantinople had more urgent interests in the East, owing to the rising power of the Turks. No momentous revolution, apparently, threatened the south of Italy, and least of all could it be anticipated from what quarter the storm was about to gather.

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[4] Catapanus, from *κατά πᾶν*, one employed in general administration of affairs.

The followers of Rollo, who rested from plunder and piracy in the quiet possession of Normandy, became devout professors of the Christian faith, and particularly addicted to the custom of pilgrimage, which gratified their curiosity and spirit of adventure. In small bodies, well armed on account of the lawless character of the countries through which they passed, the Norman pilgrims visited the shrines of Italy and even the Holy Land. Some of these, very early in the eleventh century, were engaged by a Lombard prince of Salerno against the Saracens, who had invaded his territory, and through that superiority of valor, and perhaps of corporal strength, which this singular people seem to have possessed above all other Europeans, they made surprising havoc among the enemy. This exploit led to fresh engagements, and these engagements drew new adventurers from Normandy; they founded the little city of Aversa, near Capua, and were employed by the Greeks against the Saracens of Sicily. But, though performing splendid services in this war, they were ill repaid by their ungrateful employers, and being by no means of a temper to bear with injury, they revenged themselves by a sudden invasion of Apulia. This province was speedily subdued and divided among twelve Norman counts, but soon afterward Robert Guiscard, one of twelve brothers, many of whom were renowned in these Italian wars, acquired the sovereignty, and, adding Calabria to his conquests, put an end to the long dominion of the Eastern emperors in Italy. He reduced the principalities of Salerno and Benevento, in the latter instance sharing the spoil with the Pope, who took the city to himself, while Robert retained the territory. His conquests in Greece, which he invaded with the magnificent design of overthrowing the Eastern Empire, were not very extensive. Roger, his younger brother, undertook, meanwhile, the romantic enterprise of conquering the island of Sicily with a small body of Norman volunteers. But the Saracens were broken into petty states and discouraged by the bad success of their brethren in Spain and Sardinia. After many years of war Roger became sole master of Sicily, and took the title of count. The son of this prince, upon the extinction of Robert Guiscard's posterity, united the two Norman sovereignties, and, subjugating the free republics of Naples and Amalfi, and the principality of Capua, established a boundary which has hardly been changed since his time (1127).

The first successes of these Norman leaders were viewed unfavorably by the Popes. Leo IX. marched in person against Robert Guiscard with an army of German mercenaries, but was beaten and made prisoner in this unwise enterprise, the scandal of which nothing but good-fortune could have lightened. He fell, however, into the hands of a devout people, who implored his absolution for the crime of defending themselves; and, whether through gratitude or as the price of his liberation, invested them with their recent conquests in Apulia, as fiefs of the Holy See. This investiture was repeated and enlarged as the Popes, especially in their contention with Henry IV. and Henry V., found the advantage of using the Normans as faithful auxiliaries. Finally, Innocent II., in 1139, conferred upon Roger the title of King of Sicily. It is difficult to understand by what authority these countries could be claimed by the See of Rome in sovereignty, unless by virtue of the disputed donation of Constantine, and least of all how Innocent II. could surrender the liberties of the city of Naples, whether that was considered as an independent republic or as a portion of the Greek Empire. But the Normans, who had no title but their swords, were naturally glad to give an appearance of legitimacy to their conquest, and the kingdom of Naples, even in the hands of the most powerful princes in Europe, never ceased to pay a feudal acknowledgment to the chair of St. Peter.

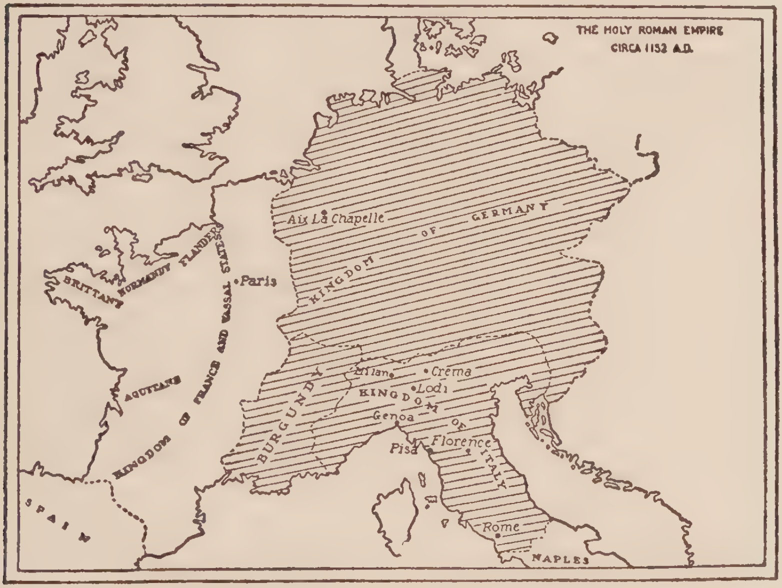
The revolutions which time brought forth on the opposite side of Italy were still more interesting. It is impossible to ascertain the time at which the cities of Lombardy began to assume a republican form of government, or to trace with precision the gradations of their progress. These cities were far more populous and better defended than those of France; they had learned to stand sieges in the Hungarian invasions of the tenth century, and had acquired the right of protecting themselves by strong fortifications. Those which had been placed under the temporal government of their bishops had peculiar advantages in struggling for emancipation. This circumstance in the state of Lombardy was highly important toward explaining the subsequent revolution. Notwithstanding several exceptions an ecclesiastic was less likely to be bold and active in command than a soldier, and the sort of election which was always necessary, and sometimes more than nominal, on a vacancy of the

See, kept up among the citizens a notion that the authority of their bishop and chief magistrate emanated in some degree from themselves. In many instances, especially in the Church of Milan, the earliest, perhaps, and certainly the most famous of Lombard republics, there occurred a disputed election; two, or even three, competitors claimed the archiepiscopal functions, and were compelled, in the absence of the emperors, to obtain the exercise of them by means of their own faction among the citizens.

These were the general causes which, operating at various times during the eleventh century, seem gradually to have produced a republican form of government in the Italian cities. But this part of history is very obscure. We perceive, however, throughout the eleventh century, that the cities were continually in warfare with each other. This, indeed, was according to the manners of that age, and no inference can absolutely be drawn from it as to their internal freedom. But it is observable that their chronicles speak, in recording these transactions, of the people, and not of their leaders, which is the true republican tone of history. Thus, in the Annals of Pisa, we read, under the years 1002 and 1004, of victories gained by the Pisans over the people of Lucca; in 1006, that the Pisans and Genoese conquered Sardinia. These annals, indeed, are not by a contemporary writer, nor perhaps of much authority. But we have an original account of a war that broke out in 1057, between Pavia and Milan, in which the citizens are said to have raised armies, made alliances, hired foreign troops, and in every respect acted like independent states. There was, in fact, no power left in the Empire to control them. The two Henrys IV. and V. were so much embarrassed during the quarrel concerning investitures, and the continual troubles of Germany, that they were less likely to interfere with the rising freedom of the Italian cities than to purchase their assistance by large concessions. Henry IV. granted a charter to Pisa, in 1081, full of the most important privileges, promising even not to name any marquis of Tuscany without the people's consent, and it is possible that although the instruments have perished, other places might obtain similar advantages. However this may be, it is certain that before the death of Henry V., in 1125, almost all the cities of Lombardy, and many among those of Tuscany, were accustomed to elect their own magistrates and to act as independent communities in waging war and in domestic government.

The territory subjected originally to the count or bishop of these cities had been reduced by numerous concessions to the rural nobility. But the new republics, deeming themselves entitled to all which their former governors had once possessed, began to attack their nearest neighbors, and to recover the sovereignty of all their ancient territory. They besieged the castles of the rural counts, and successively reduced them into subjection. They suppressed some minor communities, which had been formed in imitation of themselves by little towns belonging to their district. Sometimes they purchased feudal superiorities or territorial jurisdictions, and, according to a policy not unusual with the stronger party, converted the rights of property into those of government. Hence, at the middle of the twelfth century, we are assured by a contemporary writer that hardly any nobleman could be found, except the Marquis of Montferrat, who had not submitted to some city. We may except also, I should presume, the families of Este and Malaspina, as well as that of Savoy. Muratori produces many charters of mutual compact between the nobles and the neighboring cities, whereof one invariable article is that the former should reside within the walls a certain number of months in the year. The rural nobility, thus deprived of the independence which had endeared their castles, imbibed a new ambition of directing the municipal government of the cities, which consequently, during this period of the republics, fell chiefly into the hands of the superior families. It was the sagacious policy of the Lombards to invite settlers by throwing open to them the privileges of citizenship, and sometimes they even bestowed them by compulsion. Sometimes a city, imitating the wisdom of ancient Rome, granted these privileges to all the inhabitants of another. Thus the principal cities, and especially Milan, reached, before the middle of the twelfth century, a degree of population very far beyond that of the capitals of the great kingdoms. Within their strong walls and deep trenches, and in the midst of their well-peopled streets, the industrious dwelt secure from the license of armed pillagers and the oppressions of feudal tyrants. Artisans, whom the military landholders contemned, acquired and deserved the right of bearing arms for their own and the public defense. Their occupations became liberal, because they were the foundation of their political franchises; the citizens were classed in companies according to their respective crafts, each of which had its tribune or standard-bearer (*gonfalonier*), at whose command, when any tumult or enemy threatened, they rushed in arms to muster in the market-place.

But, unhappily, we cannot extend the sympathy which institutions so full of liberty create to the national conduct of these little republics. The love of freedom was alloyed by that restless spirit, from which a democracy is seldom exempt, of tyrannizing over weaker neighbors. They played over again the tragedy of ancient Greece, with all its circumstances of inveterate hatred, unjust ambition, and atrocious retaliation, though with less consummate actors upon the scene. Among all the Lombard cities, Milan was the most conspicuous, as well for power and population as for the abuse of these resources by arbitrary and ambitious conduct. Thus, in 1111, they razed the town of Lodi to the ground, distributing the inhabitants among six villages, and subjecting them to an unrelenting despotism. Thus, in 1118, they commenced a war of ten years' duration with the little city of Como; but the surprising perseverance of its inhabitants procured for them better terms of capitulation, though they lost their original independence. The Cremonese treated so harshly the town of Crema that it revolted from them and put itself under the protection of Milan. Cities of equal forces



carried on interminable hostilities by wasting each other's territory, destroying the harvests, and burning the villages.

The sovereignty of the emperors, meanwhile, though not very effective, was, in theory, always admitted. Their name was used in public acts and appeared upon the coin. When they came into Italy they had certain customary supplies of provisions, called *fodrum regale,* at the expense of the city where they resided; during their presence all inferior magistracies were suspended and the right of jurisdiction devolved upon them alone. But such was the jealousy of the Lombards that they built the royal palaces outside their gates, a precaution to which the emperors were compelled to submit. This was at a very early time a subject of contention between the inhabitants of Pavia and Conrad II., whose palace, seated in the heart of the city, they had demolished in a sedition, and were unwilling to rebuild in that situation.

Such was the condition of Italy when Frederick Barbarossa, Duke of Suabia, and nephew of the last emperor, Conrad III., ascended the throne of Germany (1152). His accession forms the commencement of a new period, the duration of which is about one hundred years, and which is terminated by the death of Conrad IV., the last emperor of the house of Suabia. It is characterized, like the former, by three distinguishing features in Italian history: the victorious struggle of the Lombard and other cities for independence, the final establishment of a temporal sovereignty over the middle provinces by the Pope, and the union of the kingdom of Naples to the dominions of the house of Suabia. The Hohenstaufen realized the hopelessness of trying to form a strong central government in Germany, but at the same time believed that they could make effective their claims to lordship in Italy, which had for long been somewhat dormant. The problem of the Hohenstaufen "was to assert, over against this communal spirit, the right of the Empire as such, and to enforce this right, not merely with the sword, . . . but also with every weapon of legal argument which the new interest in the study of the Roman law could furnish them."[5]

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[5] Emerton, "Medieval Europe," p. 274.

Chapter XXVIII

FREDERICK BARBAROSSA. 1152-1189

IN Frederick Barbarossa the Italians found a very different sovereign from the two last emperors, Lothaire and Conrad III., who had seldom appeared in Italy, and with forces quite inadequate to control such insubordinate subjects. The distinguished valor and ability of this prince rendered a severe and arbitrary temper, and a haughty conceit of his imperial rights, more formidable. He believed that, as successor of Augustus, he inherited the kingdoms of the world. In the same right, he more powerfully, if not more rationally, laid claim to the entire prerogatives of the Roman emperors over their own subjects; and in this the professors of the civil law—which was now diligently studied—lent him their aid with the utmost servility. To such a disposition the self-government of the Lombard cities appeared mere rebellion. "In Italy the existence of the Holy Roman Empire, together with the policy which the Popes adopted in defense of their political independence. prevented the formation of any native national government while the Empire furnished the pretense of one. In consequence of this, the cities, when they became strong, found themselves depending upon a shadowy state whose sovereignty they recognized in form, but which was not at hand to exercise real and direct government. As a result, the cities in Italy found it easy to become little independent states. . . . Their early and rapid growth enabled them to absorb nearly all the nobles of the country, and they entrenched themselves so strongly that when the Hohenstaufen emperors attempted to bring them under a direct control, they were able, in combination, . . . to maintain and secure their independence." [1]

Milan especially, the most renowned of them all, drew down upon herself Frederick's inveterate resentment. He found only too good a pretense in her behavior toward Lodi. Two natives of that ruined city threw themselves at the emperor's feet, imploring him, as the ultimate source of justice, to redress the wrongs of their country. It is a striking proof of the terror inspired by Milan that the consuls of Lodi disavowed the complaints of their countrymen, and the inhabitants trembled at the danger of provoking a summary vengeance, against which the imperial arms seemed no protection. The Milanese, however, abstained from attacking the people of Lodi, though they treated with contempt the emperor's order to leave them at liberty. Frederick, meanwhile, came into Italy and held a diet at Roncaglia, where complaints poured in from many quarters against the Milanese. Pavia and Cremona, their ancient enemies, were impatient to renew hostilities under the imperial auspices. Brescia, Tortona, and Crema were allies, or rather dependents, of Milan. Frederick soon took occasion to attack the latter confederacy. Tortona was compelled to surrender, and leveled to the ground. But a feudal army was soon dissolved; the emperor had much to demand his attention at Rome, where he was on ill terms with Adrian IV., and when the imperial troops were withdrawn from Lombardy, the Milanese rebuilt Tortona and expelled the citizens of Lodi from their dwellings. Frederick assembled a fresh army, to which almost every city of Lombardy, willingly or by force, contributed its militia. It is said to have exceeded a hundred thousand men. The Milanese shut themselves up within their walls, and perhaps might have defied the imperial forces, if their immense population, which gave them confidence in arms, had not exposed them to a different enemy. Milan was obliged by hunger to capitulate upon conditions not very severe, if a vanquished people could ever safely rely upon the convention that testifies their submission.

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[1] Adams, "Medieval Civilization," p. 301.

Frederick, after the surrender of Milan, held a diet at Roncaglia, where the effect of his victories was fatally perceived (1158). The bishops, the higher nobility, the lawyers, vied with one another in exalting his prerogatives. He defined the regalian rights, as they were called, in such a manner as to exclude the cities and private proprietors from coining money, and from tolls or territorial dues, which they had for many years possessed. These, however, he permitted them to retain for a pecuniary stipulation. A more important innovation was the appointment of magistrates, with the title of podestà, to administer justice concurrently with the consuls; but he soon proceeded to abolish the latter office in many cities, and to throw the whole government into the hands of his own magistrates. He prohibited the cities from levying war against each other. It may be presumed that he showed no favor to Milan. The capitulation was set at naught in its most express provisions; a podestà was sent to supersede the consuls and part of the territory taken away. Whatever might be the risk of resistance, and the Milanese had experienced enough not to undervalue it, they were determined rather to see their liberties at once overthrown than gradually destroyed by a faithless tyrant. They availed themselves of the absence of his army to renew the war. Its issue was more calamitous than that of the last. Almost all Lombardy lay patient under subjection. The small town of Crema, always the faithful ally of Milan, stood a memorable siege against the imperial army; but the inhabitants were ultimately compelled to capitulate for their lives, and the vindictive Cremonese razed their dwellings to the ground. But all smaller calamities were forgotten when the great city of Milan, worn out by famine rather than subdued by force, was reduced to surrender at discretion. Lombardy stood in anxious suspense to know the determination of Frederick respecting this ancient metropolis, the seat of the early Christian emperors, and second only to Rome in the hierarchy of the Latin church. A delay of three weeks excited fallacious hopes, but at the end of that time an order was given to the Milanese to evacuate their habitations. The deserted streets were instantly occupied by the imperial army; the people of Pavia and Cremona, of Lodi and Como, were commissioned to revenge themselves on the respective quarters of the city assigned to them, and in a few days the pillaged churches stood alone amid the ruins of what had been Milan (1162).

There was now little left of that freedom to which Lombardy has aspired: it was gone like a pleasant dream, and she awoke to the fears and miseries of servitude. Frederick obeyed the dictates of his vindictive temper and of the policy usual among statesmen. He abrogated the consular regimen in some even of the cities which had supported him, and established his podestà in their place. This magistrate was always a stranger, frequently not even an Italian, and he came to his office with all those prejudices against the people he was to govern which cut off every hope of justice and humanity. The citizens of Lombardy, especially the Milanese, who had been dispersed in the villages adjoining their ruined capital, were unable to meet the perpetual demands of tribute. In some parts, it is said, two-thirds of the produce of their lands, the only wealth that remained, were extorted from them by the imperial officers. It was in vain that they prostrated themselves at the feet of Frederick. He gave at the best only vague promises of redress; they were in his eyes, rebels; his delegates had acted as faithful officers, whom, even if they had gone a little beyond his intentions he could not be expected to punish.

But there still remained at the heart of Lombardy the strong principle of national liberty, imperishable among the perishing armies of her patriots, inconsumable in the conflagration of her cities. Those whom private animosities had led to assist the German conqueror blushed at the degradation of their country, and at the share they had taken in it. A league was secretly formed, in which Cremona, one of the chief cities on the imperial side, took a prominent part. Those beyond the Adige, hitherto not much engaged in the disputes of Central Lombardy, had already formed a separate confederacy, to secure themselves from encroachments which appeared the more unjust, as they had never borne arms against the emperor. Their first successes corresponded to the justice of their cause; Frederick was repulsed from the territory of Verona—a fortunate augury for the rest of Lombardy (1164). These two clusters of cities on the east and west of the Adige now united themselves into the famous Lombard league, the terms of which were settled in a general diet. Their alliance was to last twenty years, during which they pledged themselves to mutual assistance against anyone who should exact more from them than they had been used to perform from the time of Henry to the first coming of Frederick into Italy; implying in this the recovery of their elective magistracies, their rights of war and peace, and those lucrative privileges which, under the name of regalian, had been wrested from them in the diet of Roncaglia.

This union of the Lombard cities was formed at a very favorable juncture. Frederick had, almost ever since his accession, been engaged in open hostility with the See of Rome, and was pursuing the fruitless policy of Henry IV., who had endeavored to substitute an anti-pope of his own faction for the legitimate pontiff. In the prosecution of this scheme he had besieged Rome with a great army, which, the citizens resisting longer than he expected, fell a prey to the autumnal pestilence which visits the neighborhood of that capital. The flower of German nobility was cut off by this calamity, and the emperor recrossed the Alps, entirely unable for the present to withstand the Lombard confederacy. Their first overt act of insurrection was the rebuilding of Milan; the confederate troops all joined in this undertaking; and the Milanese, still numerous, though dispersed and persecuted, revived as a powerful republic. Lodi was compelled to enter into the league; Pavia alone continued on the imperial side. As a check to Pavia and to the Marquis of Montferrat, the most potent of the independent nobility, the Lombards planned the erection of a new city between the confines of these two enemies in a rich plain to the south of the Po, and bestowed upon it, in compliment to the Pope, Alexander III., the name of Alessandria. Though, from its hasty construction, Alessandria was even in that age deemed rude in appearance, it rapidly became a thriving and populous city. The intrinsic energy and resources of Lombardy were now made manifest. Frederick, who had triumphed by their disunion, was unequal to contend against their league. After several years of indecisive war, the emperor invaded the Milanese territory; but the confederates gave him battle, and gained a complete victory at Legnano in 1176. Frederick escaped alone and disguised from the field, with little hope of raising a fresh army, though still reluctant, from shame, to acquiesce in the freedom of Lombardy. He was at length persuaded, through the mediation of the republic of Venice, to consent to a truce of six years, the provisional terms of which were all favorable to the league. It was weakened, however, by the defection of some of its own members; Cremona, which had never cordially united with her ancient enemies, made separate conditions with Frederick, and suffered herself to be named among the cities on the imperial side in the armistice. Tortona and even Alessandria followed the same course during the six years of its duration—a fatal testimony of unsubdued animosities, and omen of the calamities of Italy. At the expiration of the truce, Frederick's anxiety to secure the crown for his son overcame his pride, and the famous Peace of Constance established the Lombard republics in real independence in 1183.

By the Treaty of Constance the cities were maintained in the enjoyment of all the regalian rights, whether within their walls or in their district, which they could claim by usage. Those of levying war, of erecting fortifications, and of administering civil and criminal justice, were specially mentioned. The nomination of their consuls, or other magistrates, was left absolutely to the citizens; but they were to receive the investiture of their office from an imperial legate. The customary tributes of provision during the emperor's residence in Italy were preserved; and he was authorized to appoint in every city a judge of appeal in civil causes. The Lombard league was confirmed, and the cities were permitted to renew it at their own discretion; but they were to take, every ten years, an oath of fidelity to the emperor. This just compact preserved, along with every security for the liberties and welfare of the cities, as much of the imperial prerogatives as could be exercised by a foreign sovereign consistently with the people's happiness.

Frederick did not attempt to molest the cities of Lombardy in the enjoyment of those privileges conceded by the Treaty of Constance. His ambition was diverted to a new scheme for aggrandizing the house of Suabia by the marriage of his eldest son Henry with Constance, the aunt and heiress of William II., King of Sicily. That kingdom, which the first monarch Roger had elevated to a high pitch of renown and power, fell into decay through the misconduct of his son William, surnamed the Bad, and did not recover much of its luster under the second William, though styled the Good. His death without issue was apparently no remote event; and Constance was the sole legitimate survivor of the royal family. It is a curious circumstance that no hereditary kingdom appears absolutely to have excluded females from its throne, except that which from its magnitude was of all the most secure from falling into the condition of a province. The Sicilians felt too late the defect of their constitution, which permitted an independent people to be transferred, as the dowry of a woman, to a foreign prince, by whose ministers they might justly expect to be insulted and oppressed. Henry, whose marriage with Constance took place in 1186, and who succeeded in her right to the throne of Sicily three years afterward, was exasperated by a courageous but unsuccessful effort of the Norman barons to preserve the crown for an illegitimate branch of the royal family; and his reign is disgraced by a series of atrocious cruelties. The power of the house of Suabia was now at its zenith on each side of the Alps; Henry received the imperial crown the year after his father's death in the third crusade, and even prevailed upon the princes of Germany to elect his infant son Frederick as his successor. But his own premature decease clouded the prospects of his family; Constance survived him but a year; and a child but four years old was left with the inheritance of a kingdom which his father's severity had rendered disaffected, and which the leaders of German mercenaries in his service desolated and disputed.

During the minority of Frederick II., from 1196 to 1216, the papal chair was filled by Innocent III., a name second only, and hardly second, to that of Gregory VII. Young, noble, and intrepid, he united with the accustomed spirit of ecclesiastical enterprise, which no one had ever carried to so high a point, the more worldly ambition of consolidating a separate principality for the Holy See in the center of Italy. The real and the spurious donations of Constantine, Pipin, Charlemagne, and Louis had given rise to a perpetual claim on the part of the Popes to very extensive dominions, but little of this had been effectuated, and in Rome itself they were thwarted by the prefect—an officer who swore fidelity to the emperor—and by the insubordinate spirit of the people. In the very neighborhood the small cities owned no subjection to the capital and were probably as much self-governed as those of Lombardy. One is transported back to the earliest times of the Republic in reading of the desperate wars between Rome and Tibur or Tusculum, neither of which was subjugated till the latter part of the twelfth century. At a farther distance were the duchy of Spoleto, the march of Ancona, and what had been the exarchate of Ravenna, to all of which the Popes had more or less grounded pretensions. Early in the last-mentioned age, the famous Countess Matilda, to whose zealous protection Gregory VII. had been eminently indebted during his long dispute with the emperor, granted the reversion of all her possessions to the Holy See, first in the lifetime of Gregory, and again under the pontificate of Paschal III. These were very extensive and held by different titles. Of her vast imperial fiefs, Mantua, Modena, and Tuscany, she certainly could not dispose. The duchy of Spoleto and march of Ancona were supposed to rest upon a different footing. These had been formerly among the great fiefs of the kingdom of Italy. They are commonly considered as her allodial or patrimonial property; yet it is not easy to see how, being herself a subject of the Empire, she could transfer even her allodial estates from its sovereignty. Nor, on the other hand, can it apparently be maintained that she was lawful sovereign of countries which had not long since been imperial fiefs, and the suzerainty over which had never been renounced. The original title of the Holy See, therefore, does not seem incontestable even as to this part of Matilda's donation. It is certain, however, that the emperors kept possession of the whole during the twelfth century, and treated both Spoleto and Ancona as parts of the Empire, notwithstanding continual remonstrances from the Roman pontiffs. Frederick Barbarossa, at the negotiations of Venice in 1177, promised to restore the patrimony of Matilda in fifteen years; but at the close of that period Henry VI. was not disposed to execute this arrangement, and granted the county in fief to some of his German followers. Upon his death, the circumstances were favorable to Innocent III. The infant King of Sicily had been intrusted by Constance to his guardianship. A double election of Philip, brother of Henry VI., and of Otho, Duke of Brunswick, engaged the princes of Germany, who had entirely overlooked the claims of young Frederick, in a doubtful civil war. Neither party was in a condition to enter Italy; and the imperial dignity was vacant for several years, till, the death of Philip removing one competitor, Otho IV. was crowned emperor. During this interval the Italians had no superior, and Innocent seized the occasion to maintain the claims of the See. These he backed by the production of rather a questionable document, the will of Henry VI., said to have been found among the baggage of Marquard, one of the German soldiers who had been invested with fiefs by the late emperor. The cities of what we now call the ecclesiastical state had in the twelfth century their own municipal government like those of Lombardy; but they were far less able to assert a complete independence. They gladly, therefore, put themselves under the protection of the Holy See, which held out some prospect of securing them from Marquard and other rapacious partisans, without disturbing their internal regulations. Thus the duchy of Spoleto and march of Ancona submitted to Innocent III.; but he was not strong enough to keep constant possession of such extensive territories, and some years afterward adopted the prudent course of granting Ancona in fief to the Marquis of Este. He did not, as may be supposed, neglect his authority at home; the Prefect of Rome was now compelled to swear allegiance to the Pope, which put an end to the regular imperial supremacy over that city, and the privileges of the citizens were abridged. This is the proper era of that temporal sovereignty which the bishops of Rome possess over their own city, though still prevented by various causes, for nearly three centuries, from becoming unquestioned and unlimited.

Chapter XXIX

THE LOMBARD CITIES. 1200-1250

IN the wars of Frederick Barbarossa against Milan and its allies, we have seen the cities of Lombardy divided, and a considerable number of them firmly attached to the imperial interest. The jealousies long existing between the different classes, and only suspended by the national struggle which terminated at Constance, gave rise to new modifications of interests, and new relations toward the empire. About the year 1200, or perhaps a little later, the two leading parties which divided the cities of Lombardy, and whose mutual animosity—having no general subject of contention—required the association of a name to direct as well as invigorate its prejudices, became distinguished by the celebrated appellations of Guelphs and Ghibellines, the former adhering to the papal side, the latter to that of the emperor. These names were derived from Germany, and had been the rallying word of faction for more than half a century in that country before they were transported to a still more favorable soil. The Guelphs took their name from a very illustrious family, several of whom had successively been dukes of Bavaria in the tenth and eleventh centuries. The heiress of the last of these intermarried with a younger son of the house of Este, a noble family settled near Padua, and possessed of great estates on each bank of the lower Po. They gave birth to a second line of Guelphs, from whom the royal house of Brunswick is descended. The name of Ghibelline is supposed to have been derived from a village in Franconia, whence Conrad the Salic came, the progenitor, through females, of the Suabian emperors. At the election of Lothaire in 1125 the Suabian family were disappointed of what they considered almost an hereditary possession; and at this time a hostility appears to have commenced between them and the house of Guelph, who were nearly related to Lothaire. Henry the Proud and his son, Henry the Lion, representatives of the latter family, were frequently persecuted by the Suabian emperors; but their fortunes belong to the history of Germany. Meanwhile the elder branch, though not reserved for such glorious destinies as the Guelphs, continued to flourish in Italy; the marquises of Este were by far the most powerful nobles in eastern Lombardy, and about the end of the twelfth century began to be considered as the heads of the church party in their neighborhood. They were frequently chosen to the office of podestà, or chief magistrate, by the cities of Romagna; and in 1208 the people of Ferrara set the fatal example of sacrificing their freedom for tranquillity by electing Azzo VII., Marquis of Este, as their lord or sovereign.

Otho IV. was the son of Henry the Lion, and consequently head of the Guelphs. On his obtaining the imperial crown in 1198, the prejudices of Italian factions were diverted out of their usual channel. He was soon engaged in a quarrel with the Pope, whose hostility to the Empire was certain, into whatever hands it might fall. In Milan, however, and generally in the cities which had belonged to the Lombard league against Frederick I., hatred of the house of Suabia prevailed more than jealousy of the imperial prerogatives; they adhered to names rather than to principles, and supported a Guelph emperor even against the Pope. Terms of this description, having no definite relation to principles which it might be troublesome to learn and defend, are always acceptable to mankind, and have the peculiar advantage of precluding altogether that spirit of compromise and accommodation by which it is sometimes endeavored to obstruct their tendency to hate and injure each other. From this time, every city, and almost every citizen, gloried in one of these barbarous denominations. In several cities the imperial party predominated through hatred of their neighbors, who espoused that of the church. Thus the inveterate feuds between Pisa and Florence, Modena and Bologna, Cremona and Milan, threw them into opposite factions. But there was in every one of these a strong party against that which prevailed, and consequently a Guelph city frequently became Ghibelline, or conversely, according to the fluctuations of the time.

The change to which we have adverted in the politics of the Guelph party lasted only during the reign of Otho IV. When the heir of the house of Suabia grew up to manhood, Innocent, who, though his guardian, had taken little care of his interests, as long as he flattered himself with the hope of finding a Guelph emperor obedient, placed the young Frederick at the head of an opposition composed of cities always attached to his family, and of such as implicitly followed the See of Rome. He met with considerable success both in Italy and Germany, and, after the death of Otho, received the imperial crown in 1212. But he had no longer to expect any assistance from the Pope who conferred it. Innocent was dead, and Honorius III., his successor, could not behold without apprehension the vast power of Frederick, supported in Lombardy by a faction which balanced that of the church, and menacing the ecclesiastical territories on the other side by the possession of Naples and Sicily. This kingdom, feudatory to Rome, and long her firmest ally, was now, by a fatal connection which she had not been able to prevent, thrown into the scale of her most dangerous enemy. Hence the temporal dominion which Innocent III. had taken so much pains to establish became a very precarious possession, exposed on each side to the attacks of a power that had legitimate pretensions to almost every province composing it. The life of Frederick II. was wasted in an unceasing contention with the church, and with his Italian subjects, whom she excited to rebellions against him. Without inveighing against this prince, who was certainly an encourager of letters, and endowed with many eminent qualities, we may lay to his charge a good deal of dissimulation and a justifiable ambition to strengthen and extend his power. He was the first modern king, as is evidenced by his whole reign and especially by his famous legislation for his Sicilian kingdom.[1] But, perhaps, if he had been a model of virtues, such men as Honorius III., Gregory IX., and Innocent IV., the Popes with whom he had successively to contend, would not have given him respite while he remained master of Naples as well as the Empire.

It was the custom of every Pope to urge princes into a crusade, which the condition of Palestine rendered indispensable, or, more properly, desperate. But this great piece of supererogatory devotion had never yet been raised into an absolute duty of their station, nor had even private persons been ever required to take up the cross by compulsion. Honorius III., however, exacted a vow from Frederick, before he conferred upon him the imperial crown, that he would undertake a crusade for the deliverance of Jerusalem. Frederick submitted to this engagement, which perhaps he never designed to keep, and certainly endeavored afterward to evade. Though he became by marriage nominal King of Jerusalem, his excellent understanding was not captivated with so barren a prospect, and at length his delays in the performance of his vow provoked

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[1] Emerton, "Medieval Europe," pp. 346-347.

Gregory IX. to issue against him a sentence of excommunication. Such a thunderbolt was not to be lightly regarded, and Frederick sailed, the next year, for Palestine. But having disdained to solicit absolution for what he considered as no crime, the court of Rome was excited to still fiercer indignation against this profanation of a crusade by an excommunicated sovereign. Upon his arrival in Palestine he received intelligence that the papal troops had broken into the kingdom of Naples. No one could rationally have blamed Frederick, if he had quitted the Holy Land as he found it; but he made a treaty with the Saracens, which though by no means so disadvantageous as under all the circumstances might have been expected, served as a pretext for new calumnies against him in Europe. Jerusalem itself was handed over to him and in that city he was crowned King of Jerusalem in 1228. The charge of irreligion, eagerly and successfully propagated, he repelled by persecuting edicts against heresy that do no great honor to his memory, and availed him little at the time. Over his Neapolitan dominions he exercised a rigorous government, rendered perhaps necessary by the levity and insubordination characteristic of the inhabitants, but which tended, through the artful representations of Honorius and Gregory, to alarm and alienate the Italian republics.

A new generation had risen up in Lombardy since the Peace of Constance, and the prerogatives reserved by that treaty to the Empire were so seldom called into action that few cities were disposed to recollect their existence. They denominated themselves Guelphs or Ghibellines, according to habit, and out of their mutual opposition, but without much reference to the Empire. Those, however, of the former party, and especially Milan, retained their antipathy to the house of Suabia. Though Frederick II. was entitled, as far as established usage can create a right, to the sovereignty of Italy, the Milanese would never acknowledge him, nor permit his coronation at Monza, according to ancient ceremony, with the Iron Crown of the Lombard kings. The Pope fomented, to the utmost of his power, this disaffected spirit, and encouraged the Lombard cities to renew their former league. This, although conformable to a provision in the Treaty of Constance, was manifestly hostile to Frederick, and may be considered as the commencement of a second contest between the republican cities of Lombardy and the Empire. But there was a striking difference between this and the former confederacy against Frederick Barbarossa. In the league of 1167, almost every city, forgetting all smaller animosities in the great cause of defending the national privileges, contributed its share of exertion to sustain that perilous conflict; and this transient unanimity in a people so distracted by internal faction as the Lombards, is the surest witness to the justice of their undertaking. Sixty years afterward their war against the second Frederick had less of provocation and less of public spirit. It was, in fact, a party struggle of Guelph and Ghibelline cities, to which the names of the Church and the Empire gave more of dignity and consistence.

The republics of Italy in the thirteenth century were so numerous and independent, and their revolutions so frequent, that it is a difficult matter to avoid confusion in following their history. It will give more arrangement to our ideas, and at the same time illustrate the changes that took place in these little states, if we consider them as divided into four clusters or constellations, not indeed unconnected one with another, yet each having its own center of motion and its own boundaries. (1) The first of these we may suppose formed of the cities in central Lombardy, between the Sessia and the Adige, the Alps and the Ligurian mountains; it comprehends Milan, Cremona, Pavia, Brescia, Bergamo, Parma, Piacenza, Mantua, Lodi, Alessandria, and several others less distinguished. These were the original seats of Italian liberty, the great movers in the wars of the elder Frederick. Milan was at the head of this cluster of cities, and her influence gave an ascendency to the Guelph party; she had, since the Treaty of Constance, rendered Lodi and Pavia almost her subjects, and was in strict union with Brescia and Piacenza. Parma, however, and Cremona, were unshaken defenders of the Empire. (2) In the second class we may place the cities of the march of Verona, between the Adige and the frontiers of Germany. Of these there were but four worth mentioning: Verona, Vicenza, Padua, and Treviso. The citizens of all the four were inclined to the Guelph interests; but a powerful body of rural nobility, who had never been compelled, like those upon the upper Po, to quit their fortresses in the hilly country, or reside within the walls, attached themselves to the opposite denomination. Some of them obtained very great authority in the civil feuds of these four republics; and especially two brothers, Eccelin and Alberic da Romano, of a rich and distinguished family, known for its devotion to the Empire. By extraordinary vigor and decision of character, by dissimulation and breach of oaths, by the intimidating effects of almost unparalleled cruelty, Eccelin da Romano became after some years the absolute master of three cities—Padua, Verona, and Vicenza; and the Guelph party, in consequence, was entirely subverted beyond the Adige during the continuance of his tyranny. (3) Another cluster was composed of the cities in Romagna; Bologna, Imola, Faenza, Ferrara, and several others. Of these Bologna was far the most powerful, and, as no city was more steadily for the interests of the church, the Guelphs usually predominated in this class; to which, also, the influence of the house of Este not little contributed. Modena, though not geographically within the limits of this division, may be classed along with it from her constant wars with Bologna. (4) A fourth class will comprehend the whole of Tuscany, separated almost entirely from the politics of Lombardy and Romagna. Florence headed the Guelph cities in this province, Pisa the Ghibelline. The Tuscan union was formed by Innocent III., and was strongly inclined to the Popes; but gradually the Ghibelline party acquired its share of influence; and the cities of Siena, Arezzo, and Lucca shifted their policy, according to external circumstances or the fluctuations of their internal factions. The petty cities in the region of Spoleto and Ancona hardly, perhaps, deserve the name of republics; and Genoa does not readily fall into any of our four classes, unless her wars with Pisa may be thought to connect her with Tuscany.[2]

After several years of transient hostility and precarious truce, the Guelph cities of Lombardy engaged in a regular and protracted war with Frederick II., or more properly with their Ghibelline adversaries. Few events of this contest deserve particular notice. Neither party ever obtained such decisive advantages as had alternately belonged to Frederick Barbarossa and the Lombard confederacy during the war of the preceding century. A defeat of the Milanese by the emperor, at Corte Nuova, in 1237, was balanced by his unsuccessful siege at Brescia the next year. The Pisans assisted Frederick to gain a great naval victory over the Genoese fleet, in

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[2] I have taken no notice of Piedmont in this division. The history of that country seems to be less elucidated by ancient or modern writers than that of other parts of Italy. It was at this time divided between the counts of Savoy and marquises of Montferrat. But Asti, Chieri, and Turin, especially the two former, appear to have had a republican form of government. They were, however, not absolutely independent. The only Piedmontese city that can properly be considered as a separate state, in the thirteenth century, was Vercelli, and even there the bishop seems to have possessed a sort of temporal sovereignty.

1241; but he was obliged to rise from the blockade of Parma, which had left the standards of Ghibellinism, in 1248. Ultimately, however, the strength of the house of Suabia was exhausted by so tedious a struggle; the Ghibellines of Italy had their vicissitudes of success; but their country, and even themselves, lost more and more of the ancient connection with Germany.

In this resistance to Frederick II. the Lombards were much indebted to the constant support of Gregory IX. and his successor, Innocent IV., and the Guelph or the church party were used as synonymous terms. These pontiffs bore an unquenchable hatred to the house of Suabia. No concessions mitigated their animosity; no reconciliation was sincere. Whatever crimes were committed by Frederick, it is impossible to deny that he was severely punished. At first his crime was the inheritance of his ancestors, and the name of the house of Suabia. In 1239 he was excommunicated by Gregory IX. To this he was tolerably accustomed by former experience; but the sentence was attended by an absolution of his subjects from their allegiance and a formal deposition. These sentences were not very effective upon men of vigorous minds, or upon those who wavered already as to their line of political conduct. In the fluctuating state of Lombardy the excommunication of Frederick undermined his interests even in cities like Parma, that had been friendly, and seemed to identify the cause of his enemies with that of religion—a prejudice artfully fomented by means of calumnies propagated against himself, and which the conduct of such leading Ghibellines as Eccelin, who lived in an open defiance of God and man, did not contribute to lessen. In 1240 Gregory proceeded to publish a crusade against Frederick, as if he had been an open enemy to religion; which he revenged by putting to death all the prisoners he made who wore the cross. There was one thing wanting to make the expulsion of the emperor from the Christian commonwealth more complete. Gregory IX. accordingly projected, and Innocent IV., after a refusal of his offers of peace, carried into effect, the convocation of a general council in 1245. This was held at Lyons, an imperial city, but over which Frederick could no longer retain his supremacy. Of the prelates who had embarked at Genoa for the council one hundred, taken by the vassals of his son Enzio, were put to death. In this assembly, where one hundred and forty prelates appeared, the question whether Frederick ought to be deposed was solemnly discussed; he submitted to defend himself by his advocates: and the Pope, in the presence, though without formally collecting the suffrages of the council, pronounced a sentence, by which Frederick's excommunication was renewed, the Empire and all his kingdoms taken away, and his subjects absolved from their fidelity. This is the most pompous act of usurpation in all the records of the Popes; and the tacit approbation of a general council seemed to incorporate the pretended right of deposing kings, which might have passed as a mad vaunt of Gregory VII. and his successors, with the established faith of Christendom.

Upon the death of Frederick II. in 1250 he left to his son Conrad a contest to maintain for every part of his inheritance, as well as for the imperial crown. But the vigor of the house of Suabia was gone; Conrad was reduced to fight for the kingdom of Naples, the only succession which he could hope to secure against the troops of Innocent IV., who still pursued his family with implacable hatred, and claimed that kingdom as forfeited to its feudal superior, the Holy See. After Conrad's premature death, which happened in 1254, the throne was filled by his illegitimate brother, Manfred, who retained it by his bravery and address, in despite of the Popes, till they were compelled to call in the assistance of a more powerful arm.

The death of Conrad brings to a termination that period in Italian history which we have described as nearly coëxtensive with the greatness of the house of Suabia. It is perhaps, upon the whole, the most honorable to Italy—that in which she displayed the most of national energy and patriotism. A Florentine or Venetian may dwell with pleasure upon later times, but a Lombard will cast back his eye across the desert of centuries till it reposes on the field of Legnano.

The successful resistance of the Lombard cities to such princes as both the Fredericks must astonish a reader who brings to the story of these Middle Ages notions derived from modern times. But when we consider not only the ineffectual control which could be exerted over a feudal army, bound only to a short term of service, and reluctantly kept in the field at its own cost, but the peculiar distrust and disaffection with which many German princes regarded the house of Suabia, less reason will appear for surprise. Nor did the kingdom of Naples, almost always in agitation, yield any material aid to the second Frederick. The main cause, however, of that triumph which attended Lombardy was the intrinsic energy of a free government. From the eleventh century, when the cities became virtually republican, they put out those vigorous shoots which are the growth of freedom alone. Their domestic feuds, their mutual wars, their fierce assaults on their national enemies, checked not their strength, their wealth, or their population; but rather, as the limbs are nerved by labor and hardship, the republics of Italy grew in vigor and courage through the conflicts they sustained.

We have few authentic testimonies as to the domestic improvement of the free Italian cities, while they still deserve the name. But we may perceive by history that their power and population, according to their extent of territory, were almost incredible. In Galvaneus Flamma, a Milanese writer, we find a curious statistical account of that city in 1288, which, though of a date about thirty years after its liberties had been overthrown by usurpation, must be considered as implying a high degree of previous advancement, even if we make allowance, as probably we should, for some exaggeration. The inhabitants are reckoned at 200,000; the private houses 13,000; the nobility alone dwelt in sixty streets; 8000 gentlemen or heavy cavalry (*milites*) might be mustered from the city and its districts, and 240,000 men capable of arms—a force sufficient, the writer observes, to crush all the Saracens. There were in Milan six hundred notaries, two hundred physicians, eighty school-masters, and fifty transcribers of manuscripts. In the district were one hundred and fifty castles with adjoining villages. At this period the territory of Milan was not, perhaps, as extensive as the State of Rhode Island; it was bounded at a little distance, on almost every side, by Lodi, or Pavia, or Bergamo, or Como. It is possible, however, that Flamma may have meant to include some of these as dependencies of Milan, though not strictly united with it. How flourishing must the state of cultivation have been in such a country, which not only drew no supplies from any foreign land, but exported part of her own produce! It was in the best age of their liberties, immediately after the battle of Legnano, that the Milanese commenced the great canal which conducts the waters of the Ticino to their capital, a work very extraordinary for that time. During the same period the cities gave proofs of internal prosperity that in many instances have descended to our own observation, in the solidity and magnificence of their architecture. Ecclesiastical structures were perhaps more splendid in France and England; but neither country could pretend to match the palaces and public buildings, the streets flagged with stone, the bridges of the same material, or the commodious private houses of Italy. Commerce was the foundation stone of the remarkable rise of Italian cities. "Commerce never died out. Every period of good government in any of the new German states, as under Theodoric, even if it lasted but for a moment, saw a revival of it. Justinian's conquests in Italy created a natural line of connection between the East and the West which continued unbroken until the crusades. Even before his invasion, the Venetians had the reputation of making long voyages and . . . their commerce was firmly established by the eighth century. Before the eleventh nearly all the Eastern goods which found their way into the West came through Italy, where Venice and Amalfi were the two chief ports. . . . The crusades . . . did not originate commerce, but they imparted to it a new and powerful impulse. . . . New commercial routes were opened up. Geographical knowledge increased, and new regions appeared on the maps. . . . From the first crusade on, commerce increased with great rapidity, . . . aided the growth of manufacturing industries, multiplied the articles with which it dealt . . . and exercised a profound influence upon every department of human activity." [3]

The courage of these cities was wrought sometimes to a tone of insolent defiance through the security inspired by their means of defense. From the time of the Romans to that when the use of gunpowder came to prevail, little change was made, or perhaps could be made, in that part of military science which relates to the attack and defense of fortified places. We find precisely the same engines of offense: the cumbrous towers, from which arrows were shot at the besieged, the machines from which stones were discharged, the battering-rams which assailed the walls, and the basket-work covering (the *vinea* or *testudo* of the ancients, and the *gattus* or *chatchateil* of the Middle Ages) under which those who pushed the battering-engines were protected from the enemy. On the other hand, a city was fortified with a strong wall of brick or marble, with towers raised upon it at intervals, and a deep moat in front. Sometimes the antemural or barbacan was added—a rampart of less height, which impeded the approach of the hostile engines. The gates were guarded with a portcullis, an invention which, as well as the barbacan, was borrowed from the Saracens. With such advantages for defense, a numerous and intrepid body of burghers might not unreasonably stand at bay against a powerful army; and as the consequences of capture were most terrible, while the resistance was seldom hopeless, we cannot wonder at the desperate bravery of so many besieged towns. Indeed it seldom happened that one of considerable size was taken, except by famine or treachery.

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[3] Adams, "Medieval Civilization," pp. 281-283; also ch. xii., "The Growth of Commerce and its Results."

Of the government which existed in the republics of Italy during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries no definite sketch can be traced. The magistrates elected in almost all of them, when they first began to shake off the jurisdiction of their count or bishop, were styled Consuls—a word very expressive to an Italian ear, since, in the darkest ages, tradition must have preserved some acquaintance with the republican government of Rome. The consuls were always annual; and their office comprehended the command of the national militia in war, as well as the administration of justice and preservation of public order; but their number was various—two, four, six, or even twelve. In their legislative and deliberative councils the Lombards still copied the Roman constitution, or perhaps fell naturally into the form most calculated to unite sound discretion with the exercise of popular sovereignty. A council of trust and secrecy (*della credenza*) was composed of a small number of persons, who took the management of public affairs, and may be called the ministers of the state. But the decision upon matters of general importance, treaties of alliance or declarations of war, the choice of consuls or ambassadors belonged to the general council. This appears not to have been uniformly constituted in every city; and according to its composition the government was more or less democratic. An ultimate sovereignty, however, was reserved to the mass of the people; and a parliament or general assembly was held to deliberate on any change in the form of constitution.

About the end of the twelfth century a new and singular species of magistracy was introduced into the Lombard cities. During the tyranny of Frederick I. he had appointed officers of his own, called podestàs, instead of the elective consuls. It is remarkable that this memorial of despotic power should not have excited insuperable alarm and disgust in the free republics. But, on the contrary, they almost universally, after the Peace of Constance, revived an office which had been abrogated when they first rose in rebellion against

Frederick. From experience, as we must presume, of the partiality which their domestic factions carried into the administration of justice, it became a general practice to elect, by the name of podestà, a citizen of some neighboring state as their general, their criminal judge, and preserver of the peace. The last duty was frequently arduous, and required a vigorous as well as an upright magistrate. Offenses against the laws and security of the commonwealth were during the Middle Ages as often, perhaps more often, committed by the rich and powerful as by the inferior class of society. The sentence of a magistrate against a powerful offender was not pronounced without danger of tumult; it was seldom executed without force. A convicted criminal was not, as at present, the stricken deer of society, in whose disgrace his kindred shrink from participating, and whose memory they strive to forget. The law was to be enforced not against an individual, but a family—not against a family, but a faction—not perhaps against a local faction, but the whole Guelph or Ghibelline name, which might become interested in the quarrel. The podestà was to arm the republic against her refractory citizen; his house was to be besieged and razed to the ground, his defenders to be quelled by violence: and thus the people, become familiar with outrage and homicide under the command of their magistrates, were more disposed to repeat such scenes at the instigation of their passions.

The podestà was sometimes chosen in a general assembly, sometimes by a select number of citizens. His office was annual, though prolonged in peculiar emergencies. He was invariably a man of noble family, even in those cities which excluded their own nobility from any share in the government. He received a fixed salary, and was compelled to remain in the city after the expiration of his office for the purpose of answering such charges as might be adduced against his conduct. He could neither marry a native of the city nor have any relation resident within the district, nor even, so great was their jealousy, eat or drink in the house of any citizen. The authority of these foreign magistrates was not by any means alike in all cities. In some he seems to have superseded the consuls, and commanded the armies in war. In others, as Milan and Florence, his authority was merely judicial. We find in some of the old annals the years headed by the names of the podestàs, as by those of the consuls in the history of Rome.

The effects of the evil spirit of discord that had so fatally breathed upon the republics of Lombardy were by no means confined to national interests, or to the grand distinction of Guelph and Ghibelline. Dissensions glowed in the heart of every city, and as the danger of foreign war became distant, these grew more fierce and unappeasable. The feudal system had been established upon the principle of territorial aristocracy; it maintained the authority, it encouraged the pride of rank. Hence, when the rural nobility were compelled to take up their residence in cities, they preserved the ascendency of birth and riches. From the natural respect which is shown to these advantages, all offices of trust and command were shared among them; it is not material whether this were by positive right or continual usage. A limited aristocracy of this description, where the inferior citizens possess the right of selecting their magistrates by free suffrage from a numerous body of nobles, is not among the worst forms of government, and affords no contemptible security against oppression and anarchy. This regimen appears to have prevailed in most of the Lombard cities during the eleventh and twelfth centuries; but gradually dissensions arose between the nobility and the plebeian burgesses, which at length broke out into civil war in most of the Italian cities. About the year 1220 the question of aristocratic or popular command was tried by arms in Milan, Piacenza, Modena, Cremona, and Bologna.

There is a natural preponderance in the popular scale, which, in a fair trial, invariably gains on that of the less numerous class. The artisans, who composed the bulk of the population, were arranged in companies, according to their occupations. Sometimes, as at Milan, they formed separate associations, with rules for their internal government. The clubs, called at Milan *La Motta* and *La Credenza*, obtained a degree of weight not at all surprising to those who consider the spirit of mutual attachment which belongs to such fraternities; and we shall see a more striking instance of this hereafter in the republic of Florence. To so formidable and organized a democracy the nobles opposed their numerous families, the generous spirit that belongs to high birth, the influence of wealth and established name. The members of each distinguished family appear to have lived in the same street; their houses were fortified with square massive towers of commanding height, and wore the semblance of castles within the walls of a city. Brancaleone, the famous senator of Rome, destroyed one hundred and forty of these domestic entrenchments, which were constantly serving the purpose of civil broils and outrage. Expelled, as frequently happened, from the city, it was in the power of the nobles to avail themselves of their superiority in the use of cavalry, and to lay waste the district, till weariness of an unprofitable contention reduced the citizens to terms of compromise. But when all these resources were ineffectual, they were tempted or forced to sacrifice the public liberty to their own welfare, and lent their aid to a foreign master or a domestic usurper.

In all these scenes of turbulence, whether the contest was between the nobles and people, or the Guelph and Ghibelline factions, no mercy was shown by the conquerors. The vanquished lost their homes and fortunes, and, retiring to other cities of their own party, waited for the opportunity of revenge. In a popular tumult the houses of the beaten side were frequently leveled to the ground—not perhaps from a senseless fury, which Muratori inveighs against, but on account of the injury which these fortified houses inflicted upon the lower citizens. The most deadly hatred is that which men exasperated by proscription and forfeiture bear to their country; nor have we need to ask any other cause for the calamities of Italy than the bitterness with which an unsuccessful faction was thus pursued into banishment. When the Ghibellines were returning to Florence, after a defeat given to the prevailing party in 1260, it was proposed among them to demolish the city itself which had cast them out; and, but for the persuasion of one man, Farinata degl' Uberti,[4] their revenge would have thus extinguished all patriotism. It is to this that we must ascribe their proneness to call in assistance from every side, and to invite any servitude for the sake of retaliating upon their adversaries.

Independently of the two leading differences which embattled the citizens of an Italian state, their form of government and their relation to the Empire, there were others more contemptible though not less mischievous. In every city the quarrels of private families became the foundation of general schism, sedition, and proscription. Sometimes these blended themselves with the grand distinctions of Guelph and Ghibelline; sometimes they were more nakedly conspicuous. Thus an outrage committed at Pistoja in 1300 split the inhabitants into the parties of Bianchi and Neri; and these, spreading to Florence, created one of the most virulent divisions which annoyed that republic. In one of the changes which attended this little ramification of faction, Florence expelled a young citizen who had borne offices of magistracy, and espoused the cause of the Bianchi. Dante Alighieri retired to the courts of some Ghibelline princes, where his sublime and inventive mind, in the gloom of exile, completed that original combination of vast and extravagant conceptions with keen political satire which has given immortality to his name, and even luster to the petty contests of his time.

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[4] I cannot forgive Dante for placing this patriot *trà l'anime più nere,* in one of the worse regions of his Inferno. The conversation of the poet with Farinata, cant. 10, is very fine, and illustrative of Florentine history.

In the earlier stages of the Lombard republics their differences, as well mutual as domestic, had been frequently appeased by the mediation of the emperors; and the loss of this salutary influence may be considered as no slight evil attached to that absolute emancipation which Italy attained in the thirteenth century. The Popes sometimes endeavored to interpose an authority which, though not quite so direct, was held in greater veneration; and if their own tempers had been always pure from the selfish and vindictive passions of those whom they influenced, might have produced more general and permanent good. But they considered the Ghibellines as their own peculiar enemies, and the triumph of the opposite faction as the Church's best security. Gregory X. and Nicholas III., whether from benevolent motives, or because their jealousy of Charles of Anjou, while at the head of the Guelphs, suggested the revival of a Ghibelline party as a counterpoise to his power, distinguished their pontificate by enforcing measures of reconciliation in all Italian cities; but their successors returned to the ancient policy and prejudices of Rome.

"One can hardly lament the failure of the Italian people to form a truly national government. . . . Had such a government been formed it would undoubtedly have saved the Italians much political misery and tyranny. . . . But if it had been done either by the earlier Lombard kings or by some of the local nobles at the fall of Charlemagne's empire, Italy would probably have failed of the peculiar glories of her history; the stimulating rivalries of the little municipal republics in the latter half of the Middle Ages would have been lacking, and the great results which seem to be in such close dependence upon these would have occurred more slowly, and very possibly in some other part of Europe.[5]

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[5] Adams, "Medieval Civilization," p. 182.

Chapter XXX

THE RISE OF DESPOTS. 1250–1354

FROM the death of Frederick II., in 1250, to the invasion of Charles VIII., in 1494, a long and undistinguished period occurs which it is impossible to break into any natural divisions. It is an age in many respects highly brilliant—the age of poetry and letters, of art, and of continual improvement. Italy displayed an intellectual superiority in this period over the transalpine nations which certainly had not appeared since the destruction of the Roman Empire. But her political history presents a labyrinth of petty facts so obscure and of so little influence as not to arrest the attention, so intricate and incapable of classification as to leave only confusion in the memory. The general events that are worthy of notice, and give a character to this long period, are the establishment of small tyrannies upon the ruins of republican government in most of the cities, the gradual rise of three considerable states, Milan, Florence, and Venice, the naval and commercial rivalry between the last city and Genoa, the final acquisition by the Popes of their later territorial sovereignty, and the revolutions in the kingdom of Naples under the lines of Anjou and Aragon.

After the death of Frederick II. the distinctions of Guelph and Ghibelline became destitute of all rational meaning. The most odious crimes were constantly perpetrated, and the utmost miseries endured, for an echo and a shade that mocked the deluded enthusiasts of faction. None of the Guelphs denied the nominal but indefinite sovereignty of the Empire; and beyond a name the Ghibellines themselves would have been little disposed to carry it. But the virulent hatreds attached to these words grew continually more implacable, till ages of ignominy and tyrannical government had extinguished every energetic passion in the bosoms of a degraded people.

In the fall of the house of Suabia, Rome appeared to have consummated her triumph. She gained a still further ascendency by the change of dynasty in Naples. This kingdom had been occupied, after the death of Conrad, by his illegitimate brother, Manfred, in the behalf, as he at first pretended, of young Conradin the heir, but in fact as his own acquisition. He was a prince of an active and firm mind, well fitted for his difficult post, to whom the Ghibellines looked up as their head, and as the representative of his father. It was a natural object with the Popes, independently of their ill-will toward a son of Frederick II., to see a sovereign upon whom they could better rely placed upon so neighboring a throne. Charles, Count of Anjou, brother of St. Louis, was tempted by them to lead a crusade (for as such all wars for the interest of Rome were now considered) against the Neapolitan usurper (1265). The chance of a battle decided the fate of Naples, and had a striking influence upon the history of Europe for several centuries. Manfred was killed in the field; but there remained the legitimate heir of the Fredericks, a boy of seventeen years, Conradin, son of Conrad, who rashly, as we say at least after the event, attempted to regain his inheritance. He fell into the hands of Charles at the battle of Tagliacozzo, and the voice of those rude ages, as well as of a more enlightened posterity, has united in branding with everlasting infamy the name of that prince who did not hesitate to purchase the security of his own title by the public execution of an honorable competitor, or rather a rightful claimant of the throne he had usurped (1268). With Conradin the house of Suabia was extinguished; but Constance, the daughter of Manfred, had transported his right to Sicily and Naples into the house of Aragon, by her marriage with Peter III.

This success of a monarch selected by the Roman pontiffs as their particular champion turned the tide of faction all over Italy. He expelled the Ghibellines from Florence, of which they had a few years before obtained a complete command by means of their memorable victory upon the River Arbia. After the fall of Conradin that party was everywhere discouraged. Germany held out small hopes of support, even when the imperial throne, which had long been vacant, should be filled by one of her princes. The populace were in almost every city attached to the church and to the name of Guelph; the kings of Naples employed their arms, and the Popes their excommunications; so that for the remainder of the thirteenth century the name of Ghibelline was a term of proscription in the majority of Lombard and Tuscan republics. Charles was constituted by the Pope vicar-general in Tuscany. This was a new pretension of the Roman pontiffs, to name the lieutenants of the Empire during its vacancy, which indeed could not be completely filled up without their consent. It soon, however, became evident that he aimed at the sovereignty of Italy. Some of the Popes themselves, Gregory X. and Nicholas IV., grew jealous of their own creature.

Almost all the Lombard republics had, by force or stratagem, or free consent, already fallen under the yoke of some leading citizen, who became the lord (*signore*), or, in the German sense, tyrant of his country. The first instance of a voluntary delegation of sovereignty was that of Ferrara, which placed itself under the lord of Este. Eccelin made himself truly the tyrant of the cities beyond the Adige; and such experience ought naturally to have inspired the Italians with more universal abhorrence of despotism. But every danger appeared trivial in the eyes of exasperated factions when compared with the ascendency of their adversaries. Weary of unceasing and useless contests, in which ruin fell with an alternate but equal hand upon either party, liberty withdrew from a people who disgraced her name; and the tumultuous, the brave, the intractable Lombards became eager to submit themselves to a master, and patient under the heaviest oppression. Or, if tyranny sometimes overstepped the limits of forbearance, and a seditious rising expelled the reigning prince, it was only to produce a change of hands, and transfer the impotent people to a different and perhaps a worse despotism. In many cities not a conspiracy was planned, not a sigh was breathed, in favor of republican government, after once they had passed under the sway of a single person. The progress, indeed, was gradual, though sure, from limited to absolute, from temporary to hereditary power, from a just and conciliating rule to extortion and cruelty. But before the middle of the fourteenth century at the latest all those cities which had spurned at the fairest mark of submission to the emperors lost even the recollection of self-government, and were bequeathed, like an undoubted patrimony, among the children of their new lords. Such is the progress of usurpation, and such the vengeance that Heaven reserves for those who waste in license and faction its first of social blessings, liberty.

The city most distinguished, in both wars against the house of Suabia, for an unconquerable attachment to republican institutions, was the first to sacrifice them in a few years after the death of Frederick II. Milan had for a considerable time been agitated by civil dissensions between the nobility and inferior citizens. These parties were pretty equally balanced, and their success was consequently alternate. Each had its own podestà, as a party leader, distinct from the legitimate magistrate of the city. In consequence of the crime of a nobleman, who had murdered one of his creditors, the two parties took up arms in 1257. A civil war, of various success, and interrupted by several pacifications, which in that unhappy temper could not be durable, was terminated in about two years by the entire discomfiture of the aristocracy, and by the election of Martin della Torre as chief and lord (*capitano e signore*) of the people. Though the Milanese did not, probably, intend to renounce the sovereignty resident in their general assemblies, yet they soon lost the republican spirit; five in succession of the family Della Torre might be said to reign in Milan; each, indeed, by a formal election, but with an implied recognition of a sort of hereditary title. Twenty years afterward the Visconti, a family of opposite interests, supplanted the Torriani at Milan; and the rivalry between these great houses was not at an end till the final establishment of Matteo Visconti in 1313; but the people were not otherwise considered than as aiding by force the one or other party, and at most deciding between the pretensions of their masters.

The vigor and concert infused into the Guelph party by the successes of Charles of Anjou was not very durable. The prince was soon involved in a protracted and unfortunate quarrel with the kings of Aragon, to whose protection his revolted subjects in Italy had recurred. On the other hand, several men of energetic character retrieved the Ghibelline interests in Lombardy, and even in the Tuscan cities. The Visconti were acknowledged heads of that faction. A family early established as lords of Verona, the Della Scala, maintained the credit of the same denomination between the Adige and the Adriatic. The inferior tyrants were partly Guelph, partly Ghibelline, according to local revolutions; but upon the whole, the latter acquired a gradual ascendency. Those, indeed, who cared for the independence of Italy, or for their own power, had far less to fear from the phantom of imperial prerogatives, long intermitted and incapable of being enforced, than from the new race of foreign princes whom the church had substituted for the house of Suabia. The Angevin kings of Naples were sovereigns of Provence, and from there easily encroached upon Piedmont and threatened the Milanese. Robert, the third of this line, almost openly aspired, like his grandfather, Charles I., to a real sovereignty over Italy. His offers of assistance to Guelph cities in war were always coupled with a demand of the sovereignty. Many yielded to his ambition, and even Florence twice bestowed upon him a temporary dictatorship. In 1314 he was acknowledged lord of Lucca, Florence, Pavia, Alessandria, Bergamo, and the cities of Romagna. In 1318 the Guelphs of Genoa found no other resource against the Ghibelline emigrants who were under their walls than to resign their liberties to the King of Naples for the term of ten years, which he procured to be renewed for six more. The Avignon Popes, especially John XXII., out of blind hatred to the Emperor Louis of Bavaria and the Visconti family, abetted all these measures of ambition. But they were rendered abortive by Robert's death, and the subsequent disturbances of his kingdom.

At the latter end of the thirteenth century there were almost as many princes in the north of Italy as there had been free cities in the preceding age. Their equality, and the frequent domestic revolutions which made their seat unsteady, kept them for a while from encroaching on each other. Gradually, however, they became less numerous; a quantity of obscure tyrants were swept away from the smaller cities; and the people, careless or hopeless of liberty, were glad to change the rule of despicable petty usurpers for that of more distinguished and powerful families. About the year 1350 the central parts of Lombardy had fallen under the dominion of the Visconti. Four other houses occupied the second rank, that of Este at Ferrara and Modena; of Scala at Verona; of Carrara at Padua, which later than any Lombard city had resigned her liberty; and of Gonzaga at Mantua, which, without ever obtaining any material extension of territory, continued, probably for that reason, to reign undisturbed till the eighteenth century. But these united were hardly a match, as they sometimes experienced, for the Visconti. That family, the object of every league formed in Italy for more than fifty years, in constant hostility to the church, and well inured to interdicts and excommunications, producing no one man of military talents, but fertile of tyrants detested for their perfidiousness and cruelty, were nevertheless enabled, with almost uninterrupted success, to add city after city to the dominion of

Milan, till it absorbed all the north of Italy. Under Gian Galeazzo, whose reign began in 1385, the viper (their armorial bearing) assumed indeed a menacing attitude;[1] he overturned the great family of Scala, and annexed their extensive possessions to his own; no power intervened from Vercelli, in Piedmont, to Feltre and Belluno; while the free cities of Tuscany, Pisa, Siena, Perugia, and even Bologna, as if by a kind of witchcraft, voluntarily called in a dissembling tyrant as their master. At length the Visconti were tacitly admitted among the reigning princes by the erection of Milan into a duchy under letters patent of the Emperor Wenceslaus in 1395.

The imperial authority over Italy was almost entirely suspended after the death of Frederick II. A long interregnum followed in Germany; and when the vacancy was supplied by Rodolph of Hapsburg in 1272, he was too prudent to dissipate his moderate resources where the great house of Suabia had failed. About forty years afterward the emperor, Henry VII. of Luxemburg (1308), a prince, like Rodolph, of small hereditary possessions, but active and discreet, availed himself of the ancient respect borne to the imperial name, and the mutual jealousies of the Italians, to recover for a very short time a remarkable influence, thus arousing the ardent hopes of Dante for the restoration of order in Italy, so that he wrote a circular letter to the princes of Italy to tell them that the "compassionate Henry, glory of his people, the godlike Cæsar and Augustus," was coming to Italy, there to settle all things, as the ideal universal monarch of Dante's dream. But though professing neutrality and desire of union between the Guelphs and Ghibellines, he could not succeed in removing the disgust of the former; his exigencies impelled him to large demands of money; and the Italians, when they counted his scanty German cavalry, perceived that obedience was altogether a matter of their own choice. Henry died, however, in time to save himself from any decisive reverse. His successors, Louis of Bavaria and Charles IV., descended from the Alps with similar motives, but after some temporary good fortune were obliged to return, not without discredit. Yet the Italians never broke that almost invisible thread which connected them with Germany; the fallacious name of Roman emperor still challenged their allegiance, though conferred by seven Teutonic electors without their concurrence. Even Florence, the most independent and high-spirited of republics, was induced to make a treaty with Charles IV. in 1355, which, while it confirmed all her actual liberties, not a little, by that very confirmation, affected her sovereignty. This deference to the supposed prerogatives of the Empire, even while they were least formidable, was partly owing to jealousy of French or Neapolitan interference, partly to the national hatred of the Popes who had seceded to Avignon, and in some degree to a misplaced respect for antiquity, to which the revival of letters had given birth. The great civilians, and the much greater poets, of the fourteenth century, taught Italy to consider her emperor as a dormant sovereign, to whom her various principalities and republics were subordinate, and during whose absence alone they had legitimate authority.

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[1] Allusions to heraldry are very common in the Italian writers. All the historians of the fourteenth century habitually use the viper, *il biscione,* as a synonym for the power of Milan.

In one part, however, of that country, the Empire had, soon after the commencement of this period, spontaneously renounced its sovereignty. From the era of Pipin's donation, confirmed and extended by many subsequent charters, the Holy See had tolerably just pretensions to the province entitled Romagna, or the exarchate of Ravenna. But the Popes, whose menaces were dreaded at the extremities of Europe, were still very weak as temporal princes. Even Innocent III. had never been able to obtain possession of this part of St. Peter's patrimony. The circumstances of Rodolph's accession inspired Nicholas III. with more confidence. That emperor granted a confirmation of everything included in the donations of Louis I., Otho, and his other predecessors, but was still reluctant or ashamed to renounce his imperial rights. Accordingly, his charter is expressed to be granted without diminution of the Empire (*sine demembratione imperii*); and his chancellor received an oath of fidelity from the cities of Romagna. But the Pope insisting firmly on his own claim, Rodolph discreetly avoided involving himself in a fatal quarrel, and, in 1278, absolutely released the imperial supremacy over all the dominions already granted to the Holy See.

This is a leading epoch in the temporal monarchy of Rome. But she stood only in the place of the emperor; and her ultimate sovereignty was compatible with the practicable independence of the free cities, or of the usurpers who had risen up among them. Bologna, Faenza, Rimini, and Ravenna, with many others less considerable, took an oath, indeed, to the Pope, but continued to regulate both their internal concerns and foreign relations at their own discretion. The first of these cities was far preëminent above the rest for population and renown, and, though not without several intermissions, preserved a republican character to the end of the fourteenth century. The rest were soon enslaved by petty tyrants, more obscure than those of Lombardy. It was not easy for the pontiffs of Avignon to reinstate themselves in a dominion which they seemed to have abandoned; but they made several attempts to recover it, sometimes with spiritual arms, sometimes with the more efficacious aid of mercenary troops. The annals of this part of Italy are peculiarly uninteresting.

Rome itself was, throughout the Middle Ages, very little disposed to acquiesce in the government of her bishop. His rights were indefinite, and uncomfirmed by positive law; the emperor was long sovereign; the people always meant to be free. Besides the common causes of insubordination and anarchy among the Italians, which applied equally to the capital city, other sentiments more peculiar to Rome preserved a continual though not uniform influence for many centuries. There still remained enough in the wreck of that vast inheritance to swell the bosoms of her citizens with a consciousness of their own dignity. They bore the venerable name, they contemplated the monuments of art and empire, and forgot, in the illusions of national pride, that the tutelar gods of the building were departed forever. About the middle of the twelfth century these recollections were heightened by the eloquence of Arnold of Brescia, a political heretic who preached against the temporal jurisdiction of the hierarchy. In a temporary intoxication of fancy they were led to make a ridiculous show of self-importance toward Frederick Barbarossa when he came to receive the imperial crown, but the German sternly chided their ostentation, and chastised their resistance. With the Popes they could deal more securely. Several of them were expelled from Rome during that age by the seditious citizens. Lucius II. died of hurts received in a tumult. The government was vested in fifty-six senators, annually chosen by the people through the intervention of an electoral body, ten delegates from each of the thirteen districts of the city. This constitution lasted not quite fifty years. In 1192 Rome imitated the prevailing fashion by the appointment of an annual foreign magistrate. Except in name, the senator of Rome appears to have perfectly resembled the podestà of other cities. This magistrate superseded the representative Senate, who had proved by no means adequate to control the most lawless aristocracy of Italy. I shall not repeat the story of Brancaleone's rigorous and inflexible justice, which a great historian has already drawn from obscurity. It illustrates not the annals of Rome alone, but the general state of Italian society, the nature of a podestà's duty, and the difficulties of its execution. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the Senate, and the senator who succeeded them, exercised one distinguishing attribute of sovereignty, that of coining gold and silver money. Some of their coins still exist, with legends in a very republican tone. Doubtless the temporal authority of the Popes varied according to their personal character. Innocent III. had much more than his predecessors for almost a century, or than some of his successors. He made the senator take an oath of fealty to him, which, though not very comprehensive, must have passed in those times as a recognition of his superiority. The whole subject is really somewhat doubtful, for it cannot be said just what the legal government of Rome was throughout this period.

Though there was much less obedience to any legitimate power at Rome than anywhere else in Italy, even during the thirteenth century, yet, after the secession of the Popes to Avignon, their own city was left in a far worse condition than before. Disorders of every kind, tumult and robbery, prevailed in the streets. The Roman nobility were engaged in perpetual war with each other. Not content with their own fortified palaces, they turned the sacred monuments of antiquity into strongholds, and consummated the destruction of time and conquest. At no period has the city endured such irreparable injuries; nor was the downfall of the Western Empire so fatal to its capital as the contemptible feuds of the Orsini and Colonna families. Whatever there was of government, whether administered by a legate from Avignon or by the municipal authorities, had lost all hold on these powerful barons. In the midst of this degradation and wretchedness, an obscure man, Nicola di Rienzi, conceived the project of restoring Rome, not only to good order, but even to her ancient greatness (1347). He had received an education beyond his birth, and nourished his mind with the study of the best writers. After many harangues to the people, which the nobility, blinded by their self-confidence, did not attempt to repress, Rienzi suddenly excited an insurrection, and obtained complete success. He was placed at the head of a new government, with the title of Tribune, and with almost unlimited power. The first effects of this revolution were wonderful. All the nobles submitted, though with great reluctance; the roads were cleared of robbers; tranquillity was restored at home; some severe examples of justice intimidated offenders; and the tribune was regarded by all the people as the destined restorer of Rome and Italy. Though the court of Avignon could not approve of such an usurpation, it temporized enough not directly to oppose it. Most of the Italian republics, and some of the princes, sent ambassadors, and seemed to recognize pretensions which were tolerably ostentatious. The King of Hungary and Queen of Naples submitted their quarrel to the arbitration of Rienzi, who did not, however, undertake to decide upon it. But this sudden exaltation intoxicated his understanding, and exhibited failings entirely incompatible with his elevated condition. If Rienzi had lived in our own age, his talents, which were really great, would have found their proper orbit; for his character was one not unusual among literary politicians—a combination of knowledge, eloquence, and enthusiasm for ideal excellence, with vanity, inexperience of mankind, unsteadiness, and physical timidity. As these latter qualities became conspicuous, they eclipsed his virtues and caused his benefits to be forgotten; he was compelled to abdicate his government, and retire into exile. After several years, some of which he passed in the prisons of Avignon, Rienzi was brought back to Rome, with the title of senator, and under the command of the legate. It was supposed that the Romans, who had returned to their habits of insubordination, would gladly submit to their favorite tribune. And this proved the case for a few months, but after that time they ceased altogether to respect a man who so little respected himself in accepting a station where he could no longer be free; and Rienzi was killed in a sedition. [2]

Once more, not long after the death of Rienzi, the freedom of Rome seems to have revived in republican institutions, though with names less calculated to inspire peculiar recollections. Magistrates, called bannerets, chosen from the thirteen districts of the city, with a militia of three thousand citizens at their command, were placed at the head of this commonwealth. The great object of this new organization was to intimidate the Roman nobility, whose outrages, in the total absence of government, had grown intolerable. Several of them were hanged the first year by order of the bannerets. In 1435 the Romans formally took away the government from Eugenius IV., and elected seven signors, or chief magistrates, like the priors of Florence. But this revolution was not of long continuance, and the citizens soon after acknowledged the sovereignty of the Pope.

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[2] An illustrious female writer has drawn with a single stroke the character of Rienzi, Crescentius, and Arnold of Brescia, the fond restorers of Roman liberty, *qui ont pris les souvenirs pour les espérances.* (Madame de Staël, "Corinne," vol. i. p. 159.) Could Tacitus have excelled this?

Chapter XXXI

FLORENCE AND PISA. 1150-1406

THE province of Tuscany continued longer than Lombardy under imperial government. Not until about the middle of the twelfth century did the cities of Florence, Lucca, Pisa, Siena, Arezzo, Pistoja, and several less considerable, already, perhaps with their own elected magistrates, become independent republics. During the reign of Frederick II. Florence became, as far as she was able, an ally of the Popes. There was, indeed, a strong Ghibelline party, comprehending many of the greatest families, but the spirit of the people was thoroughly Guelph. After several revolutions, accompanied by alternate proscription and demolition of houses, the Guelph party, through the assistance of Charles of Anjou, obtained a final ascendency in 1266; and after one or two unavailing schemes of accommodation it was established as a fundamental law in the Florentine constitution that no person of Ghibelline ancestry could be admitted to offices of public trust, which, in such a government, was in effect an exclusion from the privileges of citizenship.

The changes of internal government and vicissitudes of success among factions were so frequent at Florence, for many years after this time, that she is compared by her great banished poet to one in sickness, who, unable to rest, gives herself momentary ease by continual change of posture in her bed. They did not become much less numerous after the age of Dante. Yet the revolutions of Florence should, perhaps, be considered as no more than a necessary price of her liberty. It was her boast and her happiness to have escaped, except for one short period, that odious rule of vile usurpers, under which so many other free cities had been crushed. A sketch of the constitution of so famous a republic ought not to be omitted in this place. Nothing else in the history of Italy after Frederick II. is so worthy of our attention.

The basis of the Florentine polity was a division of the citizens exercising commerce into their several companies or arts. These were at first twelve, seven called the greater arts and five lesser, but the latter were gradually increased to fourteen. The seven greater arts were those of lawyers and notaries, of dealers in foreign cloth, called sometimes *Calimala*, of bankers or money-changers, of woolen-drapers, of physicians and druggists, of dealers in silk, and of furriers. The inferior arts were those of retailers of cloth, butchers, smiths, shoemakers, and builders. This division was fully established and rendered essential to the constitution in 1266. By the provisions made in that year each of the seven greater arts had a council of its own, a chief magistrate or consul, who administered justice in civil causes to all members of his company, and a banneret (*gonfaloniere*) or military officer, to whose standard they repaired when any attempt was made to disturb the peace of the city.

The administration of criminal justice belonged at Florence, as at other cities, to a foreign podestà, or rather to two foreign magistrates, the podestà and the capitano del popolo, whose jurisdiction appears to have been concurrent. These officers were preserved till the innovations of the Medici. The domestic magistracies underwent more changes. Instead of consuls, which had been the first denomination of the chief magistrates of Florence, a college of twelve or fourteen persons called *Anziani* or *Buonuomini*, but varying in name as well as number, according to revolutions of party, was established about the middle of the thirteenth century, to direct public affairs. This order was entirely changed in 1282, and gave place to a new form of supreme magistracy, which lasted till the extinction of the republic. Six priors, elected every two months, one from each of the six quarters of the city, and from each of the greater arts, except that of lawyers, constituted an executive magistracy. They lived during their continuance in office in a palace belonging to the city, and were maintained at the public cost. The actual priors, jointly with the chiefs and councils (usually called *la Capitudine*) of the seven greater arts, and with certain adjuncts (*arroti*) named by themselves, elected by ballot their successors. Such was the practice for about forty years after this government was established. But an innovation, begun in 1324, and perfected four years afterward, gave peculiar character to the constitution of Florence. A lively and ambitious people, not merely jealous of their public sovereignty, but deeming its exercise a matter of personal enjoyment, aware at the same time that the will of the whole body could neither be immediately expressed on all occasions nor even through chosen representatives, without the risk of violence and partiality, fell upon the singular idea of admitting all citizens not unworthy by their station or conduct to offices of magistracy by rotation. Lists were separately made out by the priors, the twelve *buonuomini,* the chiefs and councils of arts, the bannerets and other respectable persons, of all citizens, Guelphs by origin, turned of thirty years of age, and, in their judgment, worthy of public trust. The lists thus formed were then united, and those who had composed them, meeting together, in number ninety-seven, proceeded to ballot upon every name. Whoever obtained sixty-eight black balls was placed upon the reformed list; and all the names it contained being put on separate tickets into a bag or purse (*imborstia*), were drawn successively as the magistracies were renewed. As there were above fifty of these, none of which could be held for more than four months, several hundred citizens were called in rotation to bear their share in the government within two years. But at the expiration of every two years the scrutiny was renewed, and fresh names were mingled with those which still continued undrawn; so that accident might deprive a man for life of his portion of magistracy.

Four councils had been established by the constitution of 1266 for the decision of all propositions laid before them by the executive magistrates, whether of a legislative nature or relating to public policy. These were now abrogated; and in their places were substituted one of 300 members, all plebeians, called *consiglio di popolo,* and one of 250, called *consiglio di commune,* into which the nobles might enter. These were changed by the same rotation as the magistracies, every four months. A parliament, or general assembly of the Florentine people, was rarely convoked; but the leading principle of a democratic republic, the ultimate sovereignty of the multitude, was not forgotten. This constitution of 1324 was fixed by the citizens at large in a parliament; and the same sanction was given to those temporary delegations of the seigniory to a prince which occasionally took place. What is technically called by their historians *forsi popolo* was the assembly of a parliament, or a resolution of all derivative powers into the immediate operation of the popular will.

The ancient government of this republic appears to have been chiefly in the hands of its nobility. These were very numerous, and possessed large estates in the district. But by the constitution of 1266, which was nearly coincident with the triumph of the Guelph faction, the essential powers of magistracy as well as of legislation were thrown into the scale of the commons. The colleges of arts, whose functions became so eminent, were altogether commercial, and it was necessary to belong to one or other of the greater arts in order to be admitted into the executive college of the priors. Many, indeed, of the nobles enrolled themselves in these companies, and were among the most conspicuous merchants of Florence; but the majority of the ancient families saw themselves pushed aside from the helm, which was intrusted to a class whom they had habitually held in contempt.

The nobility, however, set the new constitution at defiance, and dwelling in strong and lofty houses among their kindred, and among the fellows of their rank, committed all sorts of outrages with impunity. At length in 1295, Giano della Bella, a man of ancient lineage, but attached to the popular side, introduced a series of enactments exceedingly disadvantageous to the ancient aristocracy. The first of these was the appointment of an executive officer, the gonfalonier of justice, whose duty it was to enforce the sentences of the podestà and *capitano del popolo* in cases where the ordinary officers were insufficient. A thousand citizens, afterward increased to four times that number, were bound to obey his commands. They were distributed into companies, the gonfaloniers or captains of which became a sort of corporation or college, and a constituent part of the government. This new militia seems to have superseded that of the companies of arts. The gonfalonier of justice was part of the seigniory along with the priors, of whom he was reckoned the president, and changed, like them, every two months. He was, in fact, the first magistrate of Florence. If Giano della Bella had trusted to the efficacy of this new security for justice, his fame would have been beyond reproach. But he followed it up by harsher provisions. The nobility were now made absolutely ineligible to the office of prior. For an offense committed by one of a noble family, his relations were declared responsible in a penalty of $15,000. And, to obviate the difficulty arising from the frequent intimidation of witnesses, it was provided that common fame, attested by two credible persons, should be sufficient for the condemnation of a nobleman.

COLA DI RIENZI ELECTED THE LAST ROMAN TRIBUNE ON THE CAPITOLINE HILL, ROME, 1347 A. D.

Painting by A. Zick —page 223

These are the famous ordinances of justice which passed at Florence for the great charter of her democracy.

The nobility were soon aware of the position in which they stood. For half a century their great object was to procure the relaxation of the ordinances of justice. But they had no success with an elated enemy. The sort of proscription which attended the ancient nobles lowered their spirit; while a new aristocracy began to raise its head, the aristocracy of families, who, after filling the highest magistracies for two or three generations, obtained an hereditary importance, which answered the purpose of more unequivocal nobility; just as in ancient Rome plebeian families, by admission to curule offices, acquired the character and appellation of nobility, and were only distinguishable by their genealogy from the original patricians. Florence had her plebeian nobles (*popolani grandi*) as well as Rome; the Peruzzi, the Ricci, the Albizi, the Medici, correspond to the Catos, the Pompeys, the Brutuses, and the Antonies. But at Rome the two orders, after an equal partition of the highest offices, were content to respect their mutual privileges; at Florence the commoners preserved a rigorous monopoly, and the distinction of high birth was that it debarred men from political franchises and civil justice.

This second aristocracy did not obtain much more of the popular affection than that which it superseded. In order to keep the nobles under more control the governing party more than once introduced a new foreign magistrate, with the title of captain of defense (*della guardia*), whom they invested with an almost unbounded criminal jurisdiction. One Gabrielli of Agobbio was twice fetched for this purpose (1336, 1340); and in each case he behaved in so tyrannical a manner as to occasion a tumult. His office, however, was of short duration, and the title at least did not import a sovereign command. But very soon afterward Florence had to experience one taste of a cup which her neighbors had drunk off to the dregs, and to animate her magnanimous love of freedom by a knowledge of the calamities of tyranny.

A war with Pisa, unsuccessfully, if not unskillfully, conducted, gave rise to such dissatisfaction in the city that the leading commoners had recourse to an appointment something like that of Gabrielli, and from similar motives. Walter de Brienne, Duke of Athens, was descended from one of the French crusaders who had dismembered the Grecian Empire in the preceding century; but his father, defeated in battle, had lost the principality along with his life, and the titular duke was an adventurer in the court of France. He had been, however, slightly known at Florence on a former occasion. There was a uniform maxim among the Italian republics that extraordinary powers should be conferred upon none but strangers. The Duke of Athens was accordingly pitched upon for the military command, which was united with domestic jurisdiction. This appears to have been promoted by the governing party in order to curb the nobility; but they were soon undeceived in their expectations. The first act of the Duke of Athens was to bring four of the most eminent commoners to capital punishment for military offenses. These sentences, whether just or otherwise, gave much pleasure to the nobles, who had so frequently been exposed to similar severity, and to the populace, who are naturally pleased with the humiliation of their superiors. Both of these were caressed by the duke, and both conspired, with blind passion, to second his ambitious views. It was proposed and carried in a full parliament, or assembly of the people, to bestow upon him the seigniory for life (1342). The real friends of their country, as well as the oligarchy, shuddered at this measure. Throughout all the vicissitudes of party, Florence had never yet lost sight of republican institutions. But happily the reign of tyranny was very short. The Duke of Athens had neither judgment nor activity for so difficult a station. He launched out at once into excesses which it would be desirable that arbitrary power should always commit at the outset. The taxes were considerably increased; their produce was dissipated. The honor of the state was sacrificed by an inglorious treaty with Pisa; her territory was diminished by some towns throwing off their dependence. Severe and multiplied punishments spread terror through the city. Ten months passed in this manner, when three separate conspiracies, embracing most of the nobility and of the great commoners, were planned for the recovery of freedom. The city was barricaded in every direction; and after a contest of some duration the Duke of Athens consented to abdicate his seigniory.

Thus Florence recovered her liberty. Her constitutional laws now seemed to revive of themselves. But the nobility, who had taken a very active part in the recent liberation of their country, thought it hard to be still placed under the rigorous ordinances of justice. The populace of Florence, with its characteristic forgetfulness of benefits, was tenacious of those proscriptive ordinances. A new civil war in the city streets decided their quarrel; after a desperate resistance, many of the principal houses were pillaged and burned; and the perpetual exclusion of the nobility was confirmed by fresh laws. But the people, now sure of their triumph, relaxed a little upon this occasion the ordinances of justice; and, to make some distinction in favor of merit or innocence, effaced certain families from the list of nobility. Five hundred and thirty persons were thus elevated, as we may call it, to the rank of commoners. Conversely, several unpopular commoners were ennobled, in order to disfranchise them. Nothing was more usual in subsequent times than such an arbitrary change of rank, as a penalty or a benefit. Those nobles who were rendered plebeian by favor were obliged to change their name and arms. The constitution now underwent some change. From six the priors were increased to eight; and instead of being chosen from each of the greater arts, they were taken from the four quarters of the city. The gonfaloniers of companies were reduced to sixteen. And these, along with the seigniory and the twelve buonuomini, formed the college, where every proposition was discussed before it could be offered to the councils for their legislative sanction. But it could only originate, strictly speaking, in the seigniory, that is, the gonfalonier of justice, and eight priors, the rest of the college having merely the function of advice and assistance.

Several years elapsed before any material disturbance arose at Florence; but in 1357 a spring was set in motion which gave quite a different character to the domestic history of Florence. At the time when the Guelphs, with the assistance of Charles of Anjou, acquired an exclusive domination in the republic, the estates of the Ghibellines were confiscated. One-third of these confiscations was allotted to the state; another went to repair the losses of Guelph citizens; but the remainder became the property of a new corporate society, denominated the Guelph party (*parte Guelfa*), with a regular internal organization. The Guelph party had two councils, one of fourteen and one of sixty members; three, or afterward, four, captains, elected by scrutiny every two months, a treasury, and common seal—a little republic within the republic of Florence. Their primary duty was to watch over the Guelph interest; and for this purpose they had a particular officer for the accusation of suspected Ghibellines. We hear not much, however, of the Guelph society for near a century after their establishment; but they now began to execute a preponderating influence in the state. In this society the ancient nobles retained a considerable influence. The laws of exclusion had never been applied to that corporation. Two of the captains were always noble, two were commoners. The people, in debarring the nobility from ordinary privileges, were little aware of the more dangerous channel which had been left open to their ambition. With the nobility some of the great commoners acted in concert, and especially the family and faction of the Albizi. They carried a law by which every person accepting an office who should be convicted of Ghibellinism or of Ghibelline descent, upon testimony of public fame, became liable to punishment, capital or pecuniary, at the discretion of the priors. To this law they gave a retrospective effect. Many citizens who had been magistrates within a few years were charged with heavy fines on this indefinite charge. But the more usual practice was to warn (*ammonire*) men beforehand against undertaking public trust. If they neglected this hint, they were sure to be treated as convicted Ghibellines. Thus a very numerous class, called *Ammoniti,* was formed of proscribed and discontented persons, eager to throw off the intolerable yoke of the Guelph society; for the imputation of Ghibelline connections was generally an unfounded pretext for crushing the enemies of the governing faction. Men of approved Guelph principles and origin were every day warned from their natural privileges of sharing in magistracy. This spread a universal alarm through the city; but the great advantage of union and secret confederacy rendered the Guelph society, who had also the law on their side, irresistible by their opponents. Meanwhile the public honor was well supported abroad; Florence had never before been so distinguished as during the prevalence of this oligarchy.

The Guelph society had governed with more or less absoluteness for near twenty years, when the republic became involved, through the perfidious conduct of the papal legate, in a war with the Holy See. Though the Florentines were by no means superstitious, this hostility to the church appeared almost an absurdity to determined Guelphs, and shocked those prejudices about names which make up the politics of vulgar minds. The Guelph society, though it could not openly resist the popular indignation against Gregory XI., was not heartily inclined to this war. Its management fell, therefore, into the hands of eight commissioners, some of them not well affected to the society, whose administration was so successful and popular as to excite the utmost jealousy in the Guelphs. They began to renew their warnings, and in eight months excluded fourscore citizens.

The civil dissensions which followed need not be described at length. The seven greater arts were generally attached to the Guelph society, while the fourteen lesser arts, composed of retail and mechanical traders, were eager to make Florence a democracy in fact as well as in name, by participating in the executive government. While the lesser arts were murmuring at the exclusive privileges of the commercial aristocracy, there was yet an inferior class of citizens who thought their own claims to equal privileges irrefragable. The arrangement of twenty-one trading companies had still left several kinds of artisans unincorporated, and consequently unprivileged. These had been attached to the art with which their craft had most connection in a sort of dependent relation. Thus to the company of drapers, the most wealthy of all, the various occupations instrumental in the manufacture, as wool-combers, dyers, and weavers, were appendant. Besides the sense of political exclusion, these artisans alleged that they were oppressed by their employers of the art. A still lower order of the community was the mere populace, who did not practice any regular trade, or who only worked for daily hire. These were called *ciompi,* a corruption, it is said, of the French *compère.*

The inferior tradesmen demanded the establishment of two new arts for themselves, and one for the lower people. After various seditions, a violent insurection, in which the *ciompi,* or lowest populace, were alone concerned, broke out. The gates of the palace belonging to the seigniory were forced open, the priors compelled to fly, and no appearance of a constitutional magistracy remained to throw the veil of law over the excesses of anarchy. The republic seemed to rock from its foundations; and the circumstance to which historians ascribe its salvation is not the least singular in this critical epoch. One Michel di Lando, a wool-comber, half-dressed and without shoes, happened to hold the standard of justice, wrested from the proper officer when the populace burst into the palace. Whether he was previously conspicuous in the tumult is not recorded; but the wild, capricious mob, who had destroyed what they had no conception how to rebuild, suddenly cried out that

Lando should be gonfalonier or signor, and reform the city at his pleasure.

A choice, arising probably from wanton folly, could not have been better made by wisdom. Lando was a man of courage, moderation, and integrity. He gave immediate proofs of these qualities by causing his office to be respected. The eight commissioners of the war, who, though not instigators of the sedition, were well pleased to see the Guelph party so entirely prostrated, now fancied themselves masters, and began to nominate priors. But Lando sent a message to them that he was elected by the people, and that he could dispense with their assistance. He then proceeded to the choice of priors. Three were taken from the greater arts, three from the lesser, and three from the two new arts and the lower people. This eccentric college lost no time in restoring tranquillity, and compelled the populace, by threat of punishment, to return to their occupations. But the *ciompi* were not disposed to give up the pleasures of anarchy so readily. They were dissatisfied at the small share allotted to them in the new distribution of offices, and murmured at their gonfalonier as a traitor to the popular cause. Lando was aware that an insurrection was projected; he took measures with the most respectable citizens; the insurgents, when they showed themselves, were quelled by force, and the gonfalonier retired from office with an approbation which all historians of Florence have agreed to perpetuate. The *ciompi*, once checked, were soon defeated. The next gonfalonier was, like Lando, a woolcomber; but, wanting the intrinsic merit of Lando, his mean station excited universal contempt. None of the arts could endure their low coadjutors; a short struggle was made by the populace, but they were entirely overpowered with considerable slaughter, and the government was divided between the seven greater and sixteen lesser arts in nearly equal proportions.

The party of the lesser arts, or inferior tradesmen, which had begun this confusion, were left winners when it ceased. But at the end of three years the aristocratic party regained its ascendency. They did not revive the severity practiced toward the Ammoniti; but the two new arts, created for the small trades, were abolished, and the lesser arts reduced to a third part, instead of something more than one-half, of public offices. For half a century after this time no revolution took place at Florence. The Guelph aristocracy, strong in opulence and antiquity, and rendered prudent by experience, under the guidance of the Albizi family, maintained a preponderating influence without much departing, the times considered, from moderation and respect for the laws.

Though fertile and populous, the proper district of Florence was by no means extensive. The republic made no acquisition of territory till 1351, when she annexed the small city of Prato, not ten miles from her walls. Pistoja, though still nominally independent, received a Florentine garrison about the same time. Several additions were made to the district by fair purchase from the nobility of the Apennines, and a few by main force. The territory was still very little proportioned to the fame and power of Florence. The latter was founded upon her vast commercial opulence. Every Italian state employed mercenary troops, and the richest was, of course, the most powerful. In 1336 the revenues of Florence are reckoned by Villani at 300,000 florins, which, as he observes, is more than the king of Naples or Aragon possess.[1] The expenditure went at that time very much beyond the receipt, and was defrayed by loans from the principal mercantile firms, which were secured by public funds—the earliest instance, I believe, of that financial resource. Her population was computed at ninety thousand souls. Villani reckons the district at eighty thousand men, I suppose those only of military age; but this calculation must have been too large, even though he included, as we may presume, the city in his estimate.

The first eminent conquest made by Florence was that of Pisa, early in the fifteenth century. Pisa had been distinguished as a commercial city ever since the age of the Othos. From her ports, and those of Genoa, the earliest naval armaments of the Western nations were fitted out against the Saracen corsairs who infested the Mediterranean coasts. In the eleventh century she undertook, and, after a pretty long struggle, completed, the important, or at least the splendid, conquest of Sardinia, an island long subject to a Moorish chieftain. Her naval prowess was supported by her commerce. A writer of the twelfth century reproaches her with the Jews, the Arabians, and other "monsters of the sea," who thronged in her streets. The crusades poured fresh wealth into the lap of the maritime Italian cities. In some of those expeditions a great portion of the armament was conveyed by sea to Palestine, and freighted the vessels of Pisa, Genoa, and Venice. When the Christians had bought with their blood the seacoast of Syria, these republics procured the most extensive privileges in the new states that were formed out of their slender conquests, and became the conduits through which the produce of the East flowed in upon the ruder nations of Europe. Pisa maintained a large share of this commerce, as well as of maritime greatness, till near the end of the thirteenth century. In 1282 she was in great power, possessing Sardinia, Corsica, and Elba, whence the republic, as well as private persons, derived large revenues, and almost ruled the sea with their ships and merchandise, and beyond sea were very powerful in the city of Acre, and much connected with its principal citizens. The prosperous era of Pisa is marked by her public edifices. She was the first Italian city that took a pride in architectural magnificence. Her cathedral is of the eleventh century; the baptistery, the famous inclined tower, or belfry, the arcades that surround the Campo Santo, or cemetery of Pisa, are of the twelfth, or, at latest, of the thirteenth.

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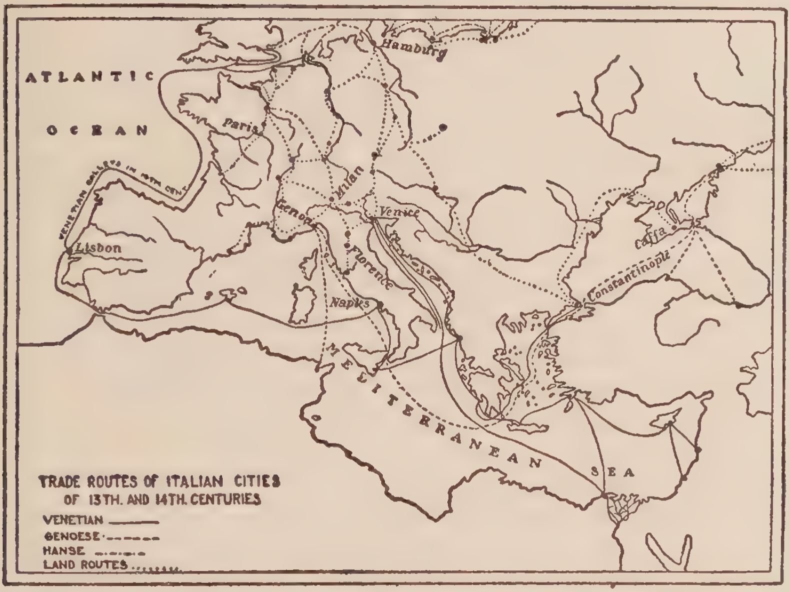
[1] The gold florin was worth about $2.50 of our money. The district of Florence was then something less than three hundred square miles.

It would have been no slight anomaly in the annals of Italy, or, we might say, of mankind, if two neighboring cities, competitors in every naval enterprise, had not been perpetual enemies to each other. One is more surprised, if the fact be true, that no war broke out between Pisa and Genoa till 1119. From this time, at least, they continually recurred. An equality of forces and of courage kept the conflict uncertain for the greater part of two centuries. Their battles were numerous, and sometimes, taken separately, decisive; but the public spirit and resources of each city were called out by defeat, and we generally find a new armament replaces the losses of an unsuccessful combat. In this respect the naval contest between Pisa and Genoa, though much longer protracted, resembles that of Rome and Carthage in the first Punic war. But Pisa was reserved for her Ægades. In one fatal battle, off the little isle of Meloria, in 1284, her whole navy was destroyed. Several unfortunate and expensive armaments had almost exhausted the state, and this was the last effort, by private sacrifices, to equip one more fleet. After this defeat it was in vain to contend for empire. Eleven thousand Pisans languished for many years in prison; it was a current saying that whoever would see Pisa should seek her at Genoa. A treacherous chief, that Count Ugolino whose guilt was so terribly avenged, by the starvation of himself and members of his family, who were thrown into prison and left to die, is said to have purposely lost the battle, and prevented the ransom of the captives, to secure his power; accusations that obtain easy credit with an unsuccessful people.

From the epoch of the battle of Meloria, Pisa ceased to be a maritime power. Forty years afterward she was stripped of her ancient colony, the island of Sardinia, which was annexed to the crown of Aragon. Her commerce now dwindled with her greatness. During the fourteenth century Pisa almost renounced the ocean, and directed her main attention to the politics of Tuscany. Ghibelline by invariable predilection, she was in constant opposition to the Guelph cities which looked up to Florence. But in the fourteenth century the names of freeman and Ghibelline were not easily united; and a city in that interest stood insulated between the republics of an opposite faction and the tyrants of her own. Pisa fell several times under the yoke of usurpers; she was included in the widespreading acquisitions of Gian Galeazzo Visconti. At his death one of his family seized the dominion, and finally the Florentines purchased for 400,000 florins a rival and once equal city. The Pisans made a resistance more according to what they had been than what they were.



Chapter XXXII

GENOA AND VENICE. 1200-1426

THE early history of Genoa, in all her foreign relations, is involved in that of Pisa. As allies against the Saracens of Africa, Spain, and the Mediterranean islands, as corivals in commerce with these very Saracens or with the Christians of the East, as coöperators in the great expeditions under the banner of the cross, or as engaged in deadly warfare with each other, the two republics stand in continual parallel. From the beginning of the thirteenth century Genoa was, perhaps, the more prominent and flourishing of the two. She had conquered the island of Corsica at the same time that Pisa reduced Sardinia; and her acquisition, though less considerable, was longer preserved. Her territory at home, the ancient Liguria, was much more extensive, and, what was most important, contained a greater range of seacoast than that of Pisa. But the commercial and maritime prosperity of Genoa may be dated from the recovery of Constantinople by the Greeks in 1261. Jealous of the Venetians, by whose arms the Latin emperors had been placed, and were still maintained, on their throne, the Genoese assisted Palæologus in overturning that usurpation. They obtained in consequence the suburb of Pera or Galata, over against Constantinople, as an exclusive settlement, where their colony was ruled by a magistrate sent from home, and frequently defied the Greek capital with its armed galleys and intrepid seamen. From this convenient station Genoa extended her commerce into the Black Sea, and established her principal factory at Caffa, in the Crimean peninsula. This commercial monopoly, for such she endeavored to render it, aggravated the animosity of Venice. As Pisa retired from the field of waters, a new enemy appeared upon the horizon to dispute the maritime dominion of Genoa. Her first war with Venice was in 1258, and for a hundred years, till Genoa had to retire defeated, the struggle continued. The second was not till after the victory of Meloria had crushed her more ancient enemy. It broke out in 1293, and was prosecuted with determined fury and a great display of naval strength on both sides. One Genoese armament consisted of 155 galleys, each manned with from 200 to 300 sailors. It was, however, beyond any other exertion. The usual fleets of Genoa and Venice were of seventy to ninety galleys.

But the most remarkable war, and that productive of the greatest consequences, was one that commenced in 1378, after several acts of hostility in the Levant. Genoa did not stand alone in this war. A formidable confederacy was raised against Venice, who had given provocation to many enemies. Of this Francis Carrara, signor of Padua, and the King of Hungary were the leaders. But the principal struggle was, as usual, upon the waves. During the winter of 1378 a Genoese fleet kept the sea, and ravaged the shores of Dalmatia. The Venetian armament had been weakened by an epidemic disease, and when Vittor Pisani, their admiral, gave battle to the enemy, he was compelled to fight with a hasty conscription of landsmen against the best sailors in the world. Entirely defeated, and taking refuge at Venice with only seven galleys, Pisani was cast into prison, as if his ill-fortune had been his crime. Meanwhile the Genoese fleet, augmented by a strong reinforcement, rode before the long natural ramparts that separate the lagoons of Venice from the Adriatic. Six passages intersect the islands which constitute this barrier, besides the broader outlets of Brondolo and Fossone, through which the waters of the Brenta and the Adige are discharged. The lagoon itself, as is well known, consists of extremely shallow water, unnavigable for any vessel except along the course of artificial and intricate passages. Notwithstanding the apparent difficulties of such an enterprise, Pietro Doria, the Genoese admiral, determined to reduce the city. His first successes gave him reason to hope. He forced the passage, and stormed the little town of Chioggia, built upon the inside of the isle bearing that name, about twenty-five miles south of Venice. Nearly four thousand prisoners fell here into his hands—an augury, as it seemed, of a more splendid triumph. In the consternation this misfortune inspired at Venice, the first impulse was to ask for peace. The ambassadors carried with them seven Genoese prisoners, as a sort of peace-offering to the admiral, and were empowered to make large and humiliating concessions, reserving nothing but the liberty of Venice. Francis Carrara strongly urged his allies to treat for peace. But the Genoese were stimulated by long hatred, and intoxicated by this unexpected opportunity of revenge. Doria, calling the ambassadors into council, thus addressed them: "Ye shall obtain no peace from us, I swear to you, nor from the lord of Padua, till first we have put a curb in the mouths of those wild horses that stand upon the place of St. Mark. When they are bridled you shall have enough of peace. Take back with you your Genoese captives, for I am coming within a few days to release both them and their companions from your prisons." When this answer was reported to the Senate, they prepared to defend themselves with the characteristic firmness of their government. Every eye was turned toward a great man unjustly punished, their admiral Vittor Pisani. He was called out of prison to defend his country amid general acclamations. Under his vigorous command the canals were fortified or occupied by large vessels armed with artillery; thirty-four galleys were equipped; every citizen contributed according to his power; in the entire want of commercial resources (for Venice had not a merchant-ship during this war) private plate was melted; and the Senate held out the promise of ennobling thirty families who should be most forward in this strife of patriotism.

The new fleet was so ill provided with seamen that for some months the admiral employed them only in maneuvering along the canals. From some unaccountable supineness, or more probably from the insuperable difficulties of the undertaking, the Genoese made no assault upon the city. They had, indeed, fair grounds to hope for its reduction by famine or despair. Every access to the continent was cut off by the troops of Padua; and the King of Hungary had mastered almost all the Venetian towns in Istria and along the Dalmatian coast. The Doge Contarini, taking the chief command, appeared at length with his fleet near Chioggia, before the Genoese were aware. They were still less aware of his secret design. He pushed one of the large round vessels, then called *cocche,* into the narrow passage of Chioggia which connects the lagoon with the sea, and, mooring her athwart the channel, interrupted that communication. Attacked with fury by the enemy, this vessel went down on the spot, and the doge improved his advantage by sinking loads of stones until the passage became absolutely unnavigable. It was still possible for the Genoese fleet to follow the principal canal of the lagoon toward Venice and the northern passages, or to sail out of it by the harbor of Brondolo; but, whether from confusion or from miscalculating the dangers of their position, they suffered the Venetians to close the canal upon them by the same means they had used at Chioggia, and even to place their fleet in the entrance of Brondolo so near to the lagoon that the Genoese could not form their ships in line of battle. The circumstances of the two combatants were thus entirely changed. But the Genoese fleet, though besieged in Chioggia, was impregnable, and their command of the land secured them from famine. Venice, notwithstanding her unexpected success, was still very far from secure: it was difficult for the doge to keep his position through the winter; and if the enemy could appear in open sea, the risks of combat were extremely hazardous. It is said that the Senate deliberated upon transporting the seat of their liberty to Candia, and that the doge had announced his intention to raise the siege of Chioggia, if expected succor did not arrive by January 1, 1380. On that very day Carlo Zeno, an admiral who, ignorant of the dangers of his country, had been supporting the honor of her flag in the Levant and on the coast of Liguria, appeared with a reinforcement of eighteen galleys and a store of provisions. From that moment the confidence of Venice revived. The fleet, now superior in strength to the enemy, began to attack them with vivacity. After several months of obstinate resistance, the Genoese—whom their republic had ineffectually attempted to relieve by a fresh armament—blocked up in the town of Chioggia, and pressed by hunger, were obliged to surrender. Nineteen galleys only, out of forty-eight, were in good condition; and the crews were equally diminished in the ten months of their occupation of Chioggia. The pride of Genoa was deemed to be justly humbled, and even her own historian confesses that God would not suffer so noble a city as Venice to become the spoil of a conqueror.

Though the capture of Chioggia did not terminate the war, both parties were exhausted, and willing, next year, to accept the mediation of the Duke of Savoy. By the Peace of Turin, Venice surrendered most of her territorial possessions to the King of Hungary. That prince and Francis Carrara were the only gainers. Genoa obtained the isle of Tenedos, one of the original subjects of dispute—a poor indemnity for her losses. Though, upon a hasty view, the result of this war appears more unfavorable to Venice, yet in fact it is the epoch of the decline of Genoa. From this time she never commanded the ocean with such navies as before; her commerce gradually went into decay; and the fifteenth century—the most splendid in the annals of Venice—is among the most ignominious in those of Genoa. But this was partly owing to internal dissensions, by which her liberty, as well as glory, was for a while suspended.

At Genoa, as in other cities of Lombardy, the principal magistrates of the republic were originally styled consuls. Their number varied from four to six, annually elected by the people in their full parliament. These consuls presided over the republic, and commanded the forces by land and sea; while another class of magistrates, bearing the same title, were annually elected by the several companies into which the people were divided, for the administration of civil justice. This was the regimen of the twelfth century; but in the next Genoa fell into the fashion of intrusting the executive power to a foreign podestà. The podestà was assisted by a council of eight, chosen by the eight companies of nobility. This institution gave not only an aristocratic, but almost an oligarchical character to the constitution, since many of the nobility were not members of these eight societies. Of the Senate or Councils we hardly know more than their existence; they are very little mentioned by historians. Everything of a general nature, everything that required the expression of public will, was reserved for the entire and unrepresented sovereignty of the people. In no city was the parliament so often convened—for war, for peace, for alliance, for change of government. These very dissonant elements were not likely to harmonize. The people, sufficiently accustomed to the forms of democracy to imbibe its spirit, repined at the practical influence which was thrown into the scale of the nobles. Among the nobility themselves, four houses were distinguished beyond all the rest—the Grimaldi, the Fieschi, the Doria, the Spinola, the two former of Guelph politics, the latter adherents of the Empire. Perhaps their equality of forces, and a jealousy which even the families of the same faction entertained of each other, prevented anyone from usurping the seigniory at Genoa. Neither the Guelph nor Ghibelline party obtaining a decided preponderance, continual revolutions occurred in the city. The most celebrated was in 1339, which led to the election of the first doge. A large fleet in want of pay broke out in open insurrection. Savona and the neighboring towns took arms avowedly against the aristocratic tyranny, and the capital was itself on the point of joining the insurgents. There was, by the Genoese constitution, a magistrate named the abbot of the people, acting as a kind of tribune for their protection against the oppression of the nobility. This office had been abolished by the present government, and it was the first demand of the malcontents that it should be restored. This was acceded to, and twenty delegates were appointed to make the choice. While they delayed, and the populace was grown weary with waiting, a nameless artisan called out from an elevated station that he could direct them to a fit person. When the people, in jest, bade him speak on, he uttered the name of Simon Boccanegra. This was a man of noble birth, and well esteemed, who was then present among the crowd. The word was suddenly taken up; a cry was heard that Boccanegra should be abbot: he was instantly brought forward, and the sword of justice forced into his hand. As soon as silence could be obtained he modestly thanked them for their favor, but declined an office which his nobility disqualified him from exercising. At this a single voice out of the crowd exclaimed, "Signor!" and this title was reverberated from every side. Fearful of worse consequences, the actual magistrates urged him to comply with the people and accept the office of abbot. But Boccanegra, addressing the assembly, declared his readiness to become their abbot, signor, or whatever they would. The cry of "Signor!" was now louder than before; while others cried out, "Let him be duke!" The latter title was received with greater approbation; and Boccanegra was conducted to the palace, the first duke, or doge, of Genoa.

Caprice alone, or an idea of more pomp and dignity, led the populace, we may conjecture, to prefer this title to that of signor; but it produced important and highly beneficial consequences. In all neighboring cities an arbitrary government had been already established under their respective signors; the name was associated with indefinite power, while that of doge had only been taken by the elective and very limited chief magistrate of another maritime republic. Neither Boccanegra nor his successors ever rendered their authority unlimited or hereditary. The constitution of Genoa, from an oppressive aristocracy, became a mixture of the two other forms, with an exclusion of the nobles from power. Those four great families who had domineered alternately for almost a century lost their influence at home after the revolution of 1339. Yet, what is remarkable enough, they were still selected in preference for the highest of trusts; their names are still identified with the glory of Genoa; her fleets hardly sailed but under a Doria, a Spinola, or a Grimalda—such confidence could the republic bestow upon their patriotism, or that of those whom they commanded. Meanwhile two or three new families, a plebeian oligarchy, filled their place in domestic honors; the Adorni, the Fregosi, the Montalti, contended for the ascendant. From their competition ensued revolutions too numerous almost for a separate history; in four years, from 1390 to 1394, the doge was ten times changed—swept away or brought back in the fluctuations of popular tumult. Antoniotto Adorno, four times Doge of Genoa, had sought the friendship of Gian Galeazzo Visconti; but that crafty tyrant meditated the subjugation of the republic, and played her factions against one another to render her fall secure. Adorno perceived that there was no hope for ultimate independence but by making a temporary sacrifice of it. His own power, ambitious as he had been, he voluntarily resigned; and placed the republic under the protection or seigniory of the King of France. Terms were stipulated very favorable to her liberties; but, with a French garrison once received into the city, they were not always sure of observance.

While Genoa lost even her political independence, Venice became more conspicuous and powerful than before. That famous republic deduces its origin, and even its liberty, from an era beyond the commencement of the Middle Ages. The Venetians boast of a perpetual emancipation from the yoke of barbarians. From the advancing army of Attila, during his march on Rome in 452, the natives of Aquileia and neighboring towns fled to the small cluster of islands that rise amid the shoals at the mouth of the Brenta. Here they built the town of Rivoalto, the modern Venice; but their chief settlement was, till the beginning of the ninth century, at Malamocco. Both the Western and the Eastern Empire alternately pretended to exercise dominion over her; she was conquered by Pipin, son of Charlemagne, and restored by him, as the chroniclers say, to the Greek emperor, Nicephorus. There is every appearance that the Venetians had always considered themselves as subject to the Eastern Empire, and this connection was not broken in the early part, at least, of the tenth century. But, for every essential purpose, Venice might long before be deemed an independent state. Her doge was not confirmed at Constantinople; she paid no tribute, and lent no assistance in war. Her own navies, in the ninth century, encountered the Normans, the Saracens, and the Slavonians in the Adriatic Sea. Upon the coast of Dalmatia were several Greek cities, which the Empire had ceased to protect, and which, like Venice

THREE BRAVI RECEIVING THEIR REWARD FROM THE COUNCIL OF THREE, WHOSE DECREE THEY HAVE EXECUTED

Painting by C. von Piloty

itself, became republics for want of a master. Ragusa was one of these, and, more fortunate than the rest, survived as an independent city till our own age. In return for the assistance of Venice, these little seaports put themselves under her government; the Slavonian parties were repressed; and after acquiring, partly by consent, partly by arms, a large tract of maritime territory, the doge took the title of Duke of Dalmatia. Three or four centuries, however, elapsed before the republic became secure of these conquests, which were frequently wrested from her by rebellions of the inhabitants, or by her powerful neighbor, the King of Hungary.

A more important source of Venetian greatness was commerce. In the darkest and most barbarous period, before Genoa or even Pisa had entered into mercantile pursuits, Venice carried on an extensive traffic both with the Greek and Saracen regions of the Levant. The crusades enriched and aggrandized Venice more, perhaps, than any other city. Her splendor may, however, be dated from the taking of Constantinople by the Latins in 1204. In this famous enterprise, which diverted a great armament destined for the recovery of Jerusalem, the French and Venetian nations were alone engaged; but the former only as private adventurers, the latter with the whole strength of their republic under its doge, Henry Dandolo. Three-eighths of the city of Constantinople, and an equal proportion of the provinces, were allotted to them in the partition of the spoil, and the doge took the singular but accurate title, Duke of three-eighths of the Roman Empire. Their share was increased by purchases from less opulent crusaders, especially one of much importance, the island of Candia, which they retained till the middle of the seventeenth century. These foreign acquisitions were generally granted out in fief to private Venetian nobles under the supremacy of the republic. It was thus that the Ionian Islands, to adopt the vocabulary of our day, came under the dominion of Venice, and guaranteed that sovereignty which she now began to affect over the Adriatic. Those of the archipelago were lost in the sixteenth century. This political greatness was sustained by an increasing commerce. No Christian state preserved so considerable an intercourse with the Mohammedans. While Genoa kept the keys of the Black Sea by her colonies of Pera and Caffa, Venice directed her vessels to Acre and Alexandria. These connections, as is the natural effect of trade, deadened the sense of religious antipathy, and the Venetians were sometimes charged with obstructing all efforts toward a new crusade, or even any partial attacks upon the Mohammedan nations.

The earliest form of government at Venice, according to an epistle of Cassiodorus published in the sixteenth century, was by twelve annual tribunes. Perhaps the union of the different islanders was merely federative. However, in 697, they resolved to elect a chief magistrate by name of duke, or, in their dialect, Doge of Venice. No councils appear to have limited his power, or represented the national will. The doge was general and judge; he was sometimes permitted to associate his son with him, and thus to prepare the road for hereditary power; his government had all the prerogatives, and, as far as in such a state of manners was possible, the pomp, of a monarchy. But he acted in important matters with the concurrence of a general assembly, though, from the want of positive restraints, his executive government might be considered as nearly absolute. Time, however, demonstrated to the Venetians the imperfections of such a constitution. Limitations were accordingly imposed on the doge, so that by the fourteenth century he was practically a mere figurehead, acting only by the advice of six councilors, who formed a sort of executive cabinet for the routine work of administration. In the twelfth century the *Quarantia* was instituted, at first as an advisory body or select Senate, but gradually becoming the chief law court of Venice. In 1172, the Great Council was established. It was at first elective, and annually renewed; but it became gradually, by successive changes, an exclusive hereditary aristocracy, and, in 1319, all elective forms were abolished. By the constitution of Venice as it was then settled, every descendant of a member of the Great Council, on attaining twenty-five years of age, entered as of right into that body, which, of course, became unlimited in its numbers. (The *Serrata del Maggior Consiglio.*)

But an assembly so numerous as the Great Council could never have conducted the public affairs with that secrecy and steadiness which were characteristic of Venice; and without an intermediary power between the doge and the patrician multitude the constitution would have gained nothing in stability to compensate for the loss of popular freedom. The executive government was committed to a Senate, consisting of sixty members, in which the doge presided, and to which the care of the state in all domestic and foreign relations, and the previous deliberation upon proposals submitted to the Great Council, was confided. It was enlarged in the fourteenth century by sixty additional members; and as a great part of the magistrates also had seats in it, the whole number amounted to between two and three hundred. Though the legislative power, properly speaking, remained with the Great Council, the Senate used to impose taxes, and had the exclusive right of making peace and war. It was annually renewed, like almost all other councils at Venice, by the Great Council.

It might be imagined that a dignity so shorn of its luster as that of doge would not excite an overweening ambition. But the Venetians were still jealous of extinguished power, and while their constitution was yet immature the Great Council planned new methods of restricting their chief magistrate and of quelling all popular discontent as well. An oath was taken by the doge on his election so comprehensive as to embrace every possible check upon undue influence. He was bound not to correspond with foreign states, or to open their letters, except in the presence of the seigniory; to acquire no property beyond the Venetian dominions, and to resign what he might already possess; to interpose, directly or indirectly, in no judicial process; and not to permit any citizen to use tokens of subjection in saluting him. As a further security, they devised a remarkably complicated mode of supplying the vacancy of his office. As many balls as there were members of the Great Council present were placed in an urn. Thirty of these were gilt. The holders of gilt balls were reduced by a second ballot to nine. The nine elected forty, whom lot reduced to twelve. The twelve chose twenty-five by separate nomination. The twenty-five were reduced by lot to nine, and each of the nine chose five. These forty-five were reduced to eleven, as before; the eleven elected forty-one, who were the ultimate voters for a doge. This intricacy appears useless, and consequently absurd; but the original principle of a Venetian election (for something of the same kind was applied to all their councils and magistrates) may not always be unworthy of imitation.

An hereditary prince could never have remained quiet in such trammels as were imposed upon the Doge of Venice. But early prejudice accustoms men to consider restraint, even upon themselves, as advantageous; and the limitations of ducal power appeared to every Venetian as fundamental as the great laws of the English constitution do to the English. For life the chief magistrates of their country, her noble citizens forever, they might thank her in their own name for what she gave, and in that of their posterity for what she withheld. Once only a Doge of Venice was tempted to betray the freedom of the republic. Marino Falieri, a man far advanced in life, engaged, for some petty resentment, in a wild intrigue to overturn the government. The conspiracy was soon discovered, and the doge avowed his guilt. An aristocracy so firm and so severe did not hesitate to order his execution in the ducal palace (1355).

The commonalty, however, did not quietly acquiesce in their exclusion from the Great Council. Several commotions took place about the beginning of the fourteenth century, with the object of restoring a more popular regimen. Upon the suppression of the last, in 1310, the aristocracy sacrificed their own individual freedom along with that of the people, to the preservation of an imaginary privilege. They established the famous Council of Ten, that most remarkable part of the Venetian constitution. They formed, in fact, a veritable committee of public safety and became a permanent part of the constitution by 1335[1]. The proper function of the ten was to act as a court of exceptional jurisdiction, somewhat like the Court of Star Chamber in England. In this capacity they served as the efficient bulwark of the Venetian aristocracy, and coerced the inferior citizens into passive acquiescence in the rule of their superiors. As time went on, the ten became more and more powerful, and began to interfere in the general conduct of affairs. So great became the passion for secrecy in the Venetian Government that in the sixteenth century the ten began to delegate their functions to a sub-committee—the three "Inquisitors of State." This council, it should be observed, consisted in fact of seventeen, comprising the seigniory, or the doge and his six councilors, as well as the ten properly so called. The Council of Ten had by usage, if not by right, a controlling and dictatorial power over the Senate and other magistrates, rescinding their decisions, and treating separately with foreign princes. Their vast influence strengthened the executive government, of which they formed a part, and gave a vigor to its movements which the jealousy of the councils would possibly have impeded. But they are chiefly known as an arbitrary and inquisitorial tribunal, the standing tyranny of Venice. Excluding the old council of forty, to which had been intrusted the exercise of criminal justice, not only from the investigation of treasonable charges, but of several other crimes of magnitude, they inquired, they judged, they punished, according to what they called reason of state. The public eye never penetrated the mystery of their proceedings; the accused was sometimes not heard, never confronted with witnesses; the condemnation was secret as the inquiry, the punishment undivulged like both. The terrible and odious machinery of a police, the insidious spy, the stipendiary informer unknown to the carelessness of feudal governments, found their natural soil in the republic of Venice. Tumultuous assemblies were scarcely possible in so peculiar a city; and private conspiracies never failed to be detected by the vigilance of the Council of Ten. Compared with the Tuscan republics, the tranquillity of Venice is truly striking. The names of Guelph and Ghibelline hardly raised any emotion in her streets, though the government was considered in the first part of the fourteenth century as rather inclined toward the latter party. But the wildest excesses of faction are less dishonoring than the stillness and moral degradation of servitude.

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[1] R. Lodge, "The Close of the Middle Ages," p. 39.

Until almost the middle of the fourteenth century Venice had been content without any territorial possessions in Italy, unless we reckon a very narrow strip of seacoast, bordering on her lagoons, called the Dogato. Neutral in the great contests between the church and the Empire, between the free cities and their sovereigns, she was respected by both parties, while neither ventured to claim her as an ally. But the rapid progress of Mastino della Scala, lord of Verona, with some particular injuries, led the Senate to form a league with Florence against him. The result of this combination was to annex the district of Treviso to the Venetian dominions. But they made no further conquests in that age. On the contrary, they lost Treviso in the unfortunate war of Chiogga, and did not regain it till 1389. Nor did they seriously attempt to withstand the progress of Gian Galeazzo Visconti, who, after overthrowing the family of Scala, stretched almost to the Adriatic, and altogether subverted for a time the balance of power in Lombardy.

But upon the death of this prince, in 1404, a remarkable crisis took place in that country. He left two sons, Giovanni Maria and Filippo Maria, both young and under the care of a mother who was little fitted for her situation. Through her misconduct and the selfish ambition of some military leaders, who had commanded Gian Galeazzo's mercenaries, that extensive dominion was soon broken into fragments. Bergamo, Como, Lodi, Cremona, and other cities revolted, submitting themselves in general to the families of their former princes, the earlier race of usurpers, who had for nearly a century been crushed by the Visconti. A Guelph faction revived after the name had long been proscribed in Lombardy. Francesco da Carrara, lord of Padua, availed himself of this revolution to get possession of Verona, and seemed likely to unite all the cities beyond the Adige. No family was so odious to the Venetians as that of Carrara. Though they had seemed indifferent to the more real danger in Gian Galeazzo's lifetime, they took up arms against this inferior enemy. Both Padua and Verona were reduced, and, the Duke of Milan ceding Vicenza, the republic of Venice came suddenly into the possession of an extensive territory. Francesco da Carrara, who had surrendered in his capital, was put to death in prison at Venice. Notwithstanding the deranged condition of the Milanese, no further attempts were made by the Senate of Venice for twenty years. They had not yet acquired that decided love of war and conquest which soon began to influence them against all the rules of their ancient policy. Meantime the dukes of Milan had recovered a great part of their dominions as rapidly as they had lost them. Giovanni Maria, the elder brother, a monster of guilt even among the Visconti, having been assassinated, Filippo Maria assumed the government of Milan and Pavia, almost his only possessions. But though unwarlike himself, he was a master of intrigue and, in spite of easily aroused suspicion, profited greatly by the employment of warlike men, of whom the chief was Carmagnola, one of the greatest generals of that military age. Most of the revolted cities were tired of their new masters, and, their inclinations conspiring with Carmagnola's eminent talents and activity, the house of Visconti reassumed its former ascendency from the Sessia to the Adige. Its fortunes might have been still more prosperous if Filippo Maria had not rashly as well as ungratefully offended Carmagnola. That great captain retired to Venice, and inflamed a disposition toward war which the Florentines and the Duke of Savoy had already excited. The Venetians had previously gained some important advantages in another quarter, by reducing the country of Friuli, with part of Istria, which had for many centuries depended on the temporal authority of a neighboring prelate, the patriarch of Aquileia. They entered into this new alliance. No undertaking of the republic had been more successful. Carmagnola led on their armies, and in about two years Venice acquired Brescia and Bergamo, and extended her boundary to the River Adda, which she was destined never to pass (1426).

Chapter XXXIII

THE CONDOTTIERI. 1343-1513

ONLY through the help of mercenary troops could a city so peculiarly maritime as Venice make conquests such as she had made. But, in employing them, she merely conformed to a fashion which states to whom it was less indispensable had long since established. A great revolution had taken place in the system of military service through most parts of Europe, but especially in Italy. During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, whether the Italian cities were engaged in their contest with the emperors or in less arduous and general hostilities among themselves, they seem to have poured out almost their whole population as an armed and loosely organized militia. This militia was of course principally composed of infantry. Gentlemen, however, were always mounted, and the superiority of a heavy cavalry must have been prodigiously great over an undisciplined and ill-armed populace. In the thirteenth and following centuries armies seem to have been considered as formidable nearly in proportion to the number of men-at-arms or lancers. A charge of cavalry was irresistible; battles were continually won by inferior numbers, and vast slaughter was made among the fugitives.

As the comparative inefficiency of foot-soldiers became evident, a greater proportion of cavalry was employed, and armies, though better equipped and disciplined, were less numerous. This we find in the early part of the fourteenth century. The main point for a state at war was to obtain a sufficient force of men-at-arms. As few Italian cities could muster a large body of cavalry from their own population, the obvious resource was to hire mercenary troops. Many soldiers of fortune from Germany, France, and Hungary engaged in the service of the Italian states. Their services were anxiously solicited and abundantly repaid under leaders or professional generals (the *condottieri*). An unfortunate prejudice in favor of strangers prevailed among the Italians of that age.

The experience of every fresh campaign now told more and more against the ordinary militia. It has been usual for modern writers to lament the degeneracy of martial spirit among the Italians of that age. But the contest was too unequal between an absolutely invulnerable body of cuirassiers and an infantry of peasants or citizens.

It could hardly be expected that mercenary troops, chiefly composed of Germans, would conduct themselves without insolence and contempt of the effeminacy which courted their services. Indifferent to the cause they supported, the highest pay and the richest plunder were their constant motives. As Italy was generally the theater of war in some of her numerous states, a soldier of fortune, with his lance and charger for an inheritance, passed from one service to another without regret and without discredit. But if peace happened to be pretty universal, he might be thrown out of his only occupation, and reduced to a very inferior condition, in a country of which he was not a native. It naturally occurred to men of their feelings that, if money and honor could only be had while they retained their arms, it was their own fault if they ever relinquished them. Upon this principle they first acted in 1343, when the republic of Pisa disbanded a large body of German cavalry which had been employed in the war with Florence. A partisan, whom the Italians call the Duke Guarnieri, engaged these dissatisfied mercenaries to remain united under his command. His plan was to levy contributions on all countries which he entered with his company, without aiming at any conquests. This was the first of the companies of adventure, which continued for many years to be the scourge and disgrace of Italy. Guarnieri, after some time, withdrew his troops, satiated with plunder, into Germany; but he served in the invasion of Naples by Louis, King of Hungary, in 1348, and, forming a new company, ravaged the ecclesiastical state. A still more formidable band of disciplined robbers appeared in 1353, under the command of Fra Moriale, and afterward of Conrad Lando. This was denominated the Great Company, and consisted of several thousand regular troops, besides a multitude of half-armed ruffians, who assisted as spies, pioneers, and plunderers. The rich cities of Tuscany and Romagna paid large sums that the Great Company, which was perpetually in motion, might not march through their territory.

None of the foreign partisans who entered into the service of Italian states acquired such renown in that career as an Englishman whom contemporary writers call Aucud or Agutus, but to whom we may restore his national appellation of Sir John Hawkwood. This very eminent man had served in the war of Edward III., and obtained his knighthood from that sovereign, though originally, if we may trust common fame, bred to the trade of a tailor. After the Peace of Bretigni, France was ravaged by the disbanded troops, whose devastations Edward was accused, perhaps unjustly, of secretly instigating. A large body of these, under the name of the White Company, passed into the service of the Marquis of Montferrat. They were some time afterward employed by the Pisans against Florence; and during this latter war Hawkwood appears as their commander. For thirty years he was continually engaged in the service of the Visconti, of the Pope, or of the Florentines, to whom he devoted himself for the latter part of his life with more fidelity and steadiness than he had shown in his first campaigns. The republic testified her gratitude by a public funeral, and by a monument in the Duomo, which still perpetuates his memory.

Hawkwood was not only the greatest, but the last of the foreign condottieri, or captains of mercenary bands. While he was yet living, a new military school had been formed in Italy, which not only superseded, but eclipsed, all the strangers. This important reform was ascribed to Alberic di Barbiano, lord of some petty territories near Bologna. He formed a company altogether of Italians about the year 1379. It is not to be supposed that natives of Italy had before been absolutely excluded from service. But this was the first trading company, if I may borrow the analogy, the first regular body of Italian mercenaries, attached only to their commander without any consideration of party, like the Germans and English of Lando and Hawkwood. Alberic di Barbiano, though himself no doubt a man of military talents, is principally distinguished by the school of great generals which the company of St. George under his command produced, and which may be deduced, by regular succession, to the sixteenth century.

Two of the most distinguished members of this school were Braccio di Montone, a noble Perugian, and Sforza Attendolo, originally a peasant in the village of Cotignuola. Nearly equal in reputation, unless perhaps Braccio may be reckoned the more consummate general, they were divided by a long rivalry, which descended to the next generation, and involved all the distinguished leaders of Italy. The distractions of Naples, and the anarchy of the ecclesiastical state, gave scope not only to their military, but political ambition. Sforza was invested with extensive fiefs in the kingdom of Naples, and with the office of Great Constable. Braccio aimed at independent acquisitions, and formed a sort of principality around Perugia. This, however, was entirely dissipated at his death.

When Sforza and Braccio were no more, their respective parties were headed by the son of the former, Francesco Sforza, and by Nicolas Piccinino. Sforza married Bianca, the natural daughter and only child of Filippo Maria, Duke of Milan, and last of his family. But upon the death of Filippo Maria in 1447, the citizens of Milan revived their republican government. A republic in that part of Lombardy might, with the help of Venice and Florence, have withstood any domestic or foreign usurpation. But Venice was hostile, and Florence indifferent. Sforza became the general of this new state, aware that such would be the probable means of becoming its master. In 1450 he was proclaimed duke, rather by right of election, or of conquest, than in virtue of his marriage with Bianca, whose sex, as well as illegitimacy, seemed to preclude her from inheriting. On entering Milan, says Machiavelli, Sforza "was received with the greatest possible joy by those who, only a short time previously, had heaped on him all the slanders that hatred could inspire."[1]

Whatever evils might be derived, and they were not trifling, from the employment of foreign or native mercenaries, it was impossible to discontinue the system without general consent; and too many states found their own advantage in it for such an agreement. The condottieri were, indeed, all notorious for contempt of engagements. Their rapacity was equal to their bad faith. Besides an enormous pay, for every private cuirassier received much more in value than a subaltern officer at present, they exacted gratifications for every success. But everything was endured by ambitious governments who wanted their aid. Florence and Venice were the two states which owed most to the companies of adventure. The one loved war without its perils; the other could never have obtained an inch of territory without a population of sailors. But they were both almost inexhaustibly rich by commercial industry; and as the surest paymasters, were best served by those they employed.

The Italian armies of the fifteenth century have been remarked for one striking peculiarity. War has never been conducted at so little personal hazard to the soldier. Combats frequently occur, in the annals of that age, wherein success, though warmly contested, cost very few lives even to the vanquished. This innocence of blood, which some historians turn into ridicule, was no doubt owing in a great degree to the rapacity of the companies of adventure, who, in expectation of enriching themselves by the ransom of prisoners, were anxious to save their lives. But it was rendered more practicable by the nature of their arms. For once, and for once only, in the history of mankind, the art of defense had outstripped that of destruction. In a charge of lancers many fell, unhorsed by the shock, and might be suffocated or bruised to death by the pressure of their own armor; but the lance's point could not penetrate the breastplate, the sword fell harmless on the helmet, the conqueror, in the first impulse of passion, could not assail any vital part of a prostrate but not exposed enemy. Still less was to be dreaded from the archers or cross-bowmen, who composed a large part of the infantry. The bow indeed, as drawn by an English foot-soldier, was the most formidable of arms before the invention of gunpowder. It was a peculiarly English weapon, and none of the other principal nations adopted it so generally or so successfully. The cross-bow, which brought the strong and weak to a level, was more in favor upon the Continent.

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[1] Machiavelli, "History of Florence," p. 286.

Meanwhile a discovery accidentally made had prepared the way not only for a change in the military system, but for political effects still more extensive. There seems little reason to doubt that gunpowder was introduced through the means of the Saracens into Europe. Its use in engines of war, though they may seem to have been rather like our fireworks than artillery, is mentioned by an Arabic writer in the Escurial collection about the year 1249. In the first part of the fourteenth century, cannon, or rather mortars, were invented, and the applicability of gunpowder to purposes of war was understood. But its use was still not very frequent; a circumstance which will surprise us less when we consider the unscientific construction of artillery; the slowness with which it could be loaded; its stone balls, of uncertain aim and imperfect force, being commonly fired at a considerable elevation; and especially the difficulty of removing it from place to place during an action. In sieges and in naval engagements, as for example, in the war of Chioggia, it was more frequently employed. Gradually, however, the new artifice of evil gained ground. The French made the principal improvement. They cast their cannon smaller, placed them on lighter carriages, and used balls of iron. They invented portable arms for a single soldier, which, though clumsy in comparison with their present state, gave an augury of a prodigious revolution in the military art. John, Duke of Burgundy, in 1411, had 4000 hand-cannons, as they were called, in his army. They are found, under different names and modifications of form, in most of the wars that historians of the fifteenth century record, but less in Italy than beyond the Alps. The Milanese, in 1449, are said to have armed their militia with 20,000 muskets, which struck terror into the old generals. But these muskets, supported on a rest, and charged with great delay. did less execution than our sanguinary science would require; and, uncombined with the admirable invention of the bayonet, could not in any degree resist a charge of cavalry. The pike had a greater tendency to subvert the military system of the Middle Ages, and to demonstrate the efficiency of disciplined infantry. Two free nations had already discomfited, by the help of such infantry, those arrogant knights on whom the fate of battles had depended—the Bohemians, instructed in the art of war by their great master, John Zisca; and the Swiss, who, after winning their independence inch by inch from the house of Austria, had lately established their renown by a splendid victory over Charles of Burgundy. Louis XI. took a body of mercenaries from the United Cantons into pay. Maximilian had recourse to the same assistance. And though the importance of infantry was not, perhaps, decidedly established till the Milanese wars of Louis XII. and Francis I., in the sixteenth century, yet the last years of the Middle Ages indicated the commencement of that military revolution in the general employment of pikemen and musketeers.

Chapter XXXIV

NAPLES AND FLORENCE. 1282-1494

I HAVE not alluded for some time to the domestic history of a kingdom which bore a considerable part, during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, in the general combinations of Italian policy, not wishing to interrupt the reader's attention by too frequent transitions. We must return again to a more remote age in order to take up the history of Naples. Charles of Anjou, after the deaths of Manfred and Conradin had left him without a competitor, might be ranked in the first class of European sovereigns. Master of Provence and Naples, and at the head of the Guelph faction in Italy, he had already prepared a formidable attack on the Greek Empire, when a memorable revolution in Sicily brought humiliation on his latter years. John of Procida, a Neapolitan, whose patrimony had been confiscated for his adherence to the party of Manfred, retained, during long years of exile, an implacable resentment against the house of Anjou. Sicily was now treated as a conquered country. A large body of French soldiers garrisoned the fortified towns, and the systematic oppression was aggravated by those insults upon the honor of families which are most intolerable to an Italian temperament. John of Procida was for long regarded as the prime mover of the revolution of 1282, and is represented as visiting the Pope, the Eastern Emperor, the King of Aragon, and others, all with the object of expelling the hated Angevins; but now his part, though just what it was remains somewhat in doubt, is less emphasized and it is realized that the causes of the revolution were deep-seated in Sicily itself, needing only an occasion to break out. Finally an outrage committed upon a lady at Palermo, during a procession on the vigil of Easter, provoked the people to that terrible massacre of all the French in their island which has obtained the name of the Sicilian Vespers. Unpremeditated as such an ebullition of popular fury must appear, it fell in, by the happiest coincidence, with the previous indications of discontent. The King of Aragon's fleet was at hand; the Sicilians soon called in his assistance; he sailed to Palermo, and accepted the crown in 1282.

The long war that ensued upon this revolution involved or interested the greater part of civilized Europe. Philip III. of France adhered to his uncle, and the King of Aragon was compelled to fight for Sicily within his native dominions. This, indeed, was the more vulnerable point of attack. Upon the sea he was supreme. His Catalans, the most intrepid of Mediterranean sailors, were led to victory by a Calabrian refugee, Roger di Loria, the most illustrious and successful admiral whom Europe produced till the age of Blake and De Ruyter. In one of Loria's battles the eldest son of the King of Naples was made prisoner, and the first years of his own reign were spent in confinement. But notwithstanding these advantages, it was found impracticable for Aragon to contend against the arms of France, and latterly of Castile, sustained by the rolling thunders of the Vatican. Peter III. had bequeathed Sicily to his second son, James; Alfonso, the eldest, King of Aragon, could not fairly be expected to ruin his inheritance for his brother's cause; nor were the barons of that free country disposed to carry on a war without national objects. He made peace, accordingly, in 1295, and engaged to withdraw all his subjects from the Sicilian service. Upon his own death, which followed very soon, James succeeded to the kingdom of Aragon, and ratified the renunciation of Sicily. But the natives of that island had received too deeply the spirit of independence to be thus assigned over by the letter of a treaty. After solemnly abjuring, by their ambassadors, their allegiance to the King of Aragon, they placed the crown upon the head of his brother, Frederick. They maintained the war against Charles II. of Naples, against James of Aragon, their former king, who had bound himself to enforce their submission, and even against the great Roger di Loria, who, upon some discontent with Frederick, deserted their banner, and entered into the Neapolitan service. Peace was at length made in 1300, upon condition that Frederick should retain during his life the kingdom of Sicily, which was afterward to revert to the crown of Naples: a condition not likely to be fulfilled. In fact the two kingdoms remained distinct till the middle of the fifteenth century.

Upon the death of Charles II., King of Naples, in 1305, a question arose as to the succession. His eldest son, Charles Martel, had been called by maternal inheritance to the throne of Hungary, and

KINGS OF NAPLES OF THE HOUSE OF ANJOU.

CHARLES I. of Anjou, son of Louis VIII., King of France, and brother of Louis IX., King of France, becomes King of Naples and Sicily, 1265 A. D. Loses Sicily, 1283, d. 1285.

- CHARLES II., m. daughter of King of Hungary, 1285-1305.
  - Charles Martel King of Hungary d. 1296.
    - Carobert King of Hungary d. 1342.
      - Louis King of Hungary
      - Andrew m. Joanna I., strangled 1345.
  - ROBERT, 1305-1343.
    - Charles Duke of Calabria, d. 1328.
      - JOANNA I., m. Andrew of Hungary. and other husbands, 1343-1378.
  - John, Duke of Durazzo.
    - Charles Duke of Durazzo.
      - Margaret, m. Charles III., King of Naples.
    - Louis.
      - CHARLES III., king 1382-1386. m. Margaret of Durazzo.
        - LADISLAUS, King of Naples, 1386-1414.
        - JOANNA II., 1414-1435.

KINGS OF SICILY OF THE HOUSE OF ARAGON.

PETER III. (King of Aragon), m. Constance, daughter of Manfred of Suabia and becomes King of Sicily after the Sicilian Vespers, 1283 A. D., d. 1285.

- Alfonso III., King of Aragon.
- JAMES II., King of Aragon. and King of Sicily, of Charles II., abdicates in favor King of Naples, 1295.
- Frederick I., elected King of Sicily, 1296-1336.
  - PETER II., King of Sicily, 1336-1342.
    - Louis, King of Sicily, 1342-1355.
    - FREDERICK II., King of Sicily, 1355-1377.
      - MARIA, Queen of Sicily, 1377-1402. m. Martin, Prince of Aragon.

TITULAR KINGS OF NAPLES OF THE SECOND HOUSE OF ANJOU.

LOUIS I., Duke of Anjou, son of John, King of France,

and uncle of Charles VI., King of France, was adopted by Joanna I. as King of Naples, d. 1384.

- LOUIS II., Titular King of Naples, 1384-1417.
  - LOUIS III., Titular King of Naples, 1417-1434.
  - REGNIER, Titular King of Naples, 1434-1480.

had left at his decease a son, Carobert, the reigning sovereign of that country. According to the laws of representative succession, which were at this time tolerably settled in private inheritance, the crown of Naples ought to have regularly devolved upon that prince. But it was contested by his uncle, Robert, eldest living son of Charles II., and the cause was pleaded by civilians at Avignon before Pope Clement V., the feudal superior of the Neapolitan kingdom. Reasons of public utility, rather than of legal analogy, seem to have prevailed in the decision which was made in favor of Robert. The course of his reign evinced the wisdom of this determination. Robert, a wise and active, though not personally a martial prince, maintained the ascendency of the Guelph faction, and the papal influence connected with it, against the formidable combination of Ghibelline usurpers in Lombardy, and the two emperors, Henry VII. and Louis of Bavaria. No male issue survived Robert, whose crown descended to his granddaughter Joanna. She had been espoused, while a child, to her cousin Andrew, son of Carobert, King of Hungary, who was educated with her in the court of Naples. Auspiciously contrived as this union might seem to silence a subsisting claim upon the kingdom, it proved eventually the source of civil war and calamity for 150 years. Andrew's manners were barbarous, more worthy of his native country than of that polished court wherein he had been bred. He gave himself up to the society of Hungarians, who taught him to believe that a matrimonial crown and derivative royalty were derogatory to a prince who claimed by a paramount hereditary right. In fact, he was pressing the court of Avignon to permit his own coronation, which would have placed in a very hazardous condition the rights of the queen, with whom he was living on ill terms, when one night he was seized, strangled, and thrown out of a window. Public rumor, in the absence of notorious proof, imputed the guilt of this mysterious assassination to Joanna. Whether historians are authorized to assume her participation in it so confidently as they have generally done, may perhaps be doubted; but the circumstances of Andrew's death were undoubtedly pregnant with strong suspicion. Louis, King of Hungary, his brother, a just and stern prince, invaded Naples, partly as an avenger, partly as a conquerer. The queen and her second husband, Louis of Tarentum, fled to Provence, where her acquittal, after a solemn investigation, was pronounced by Clement VI. Louis, meanwhile, found it more difficult to retain than to acquire the kingdom of Naples; his own dominion required his presence; and Joanna soon recovered her crown. She reigned for thirty years more without the attack of any enemy, but not intermeddling, like her progenitors, in the general concerns of Italy. Childless by four husbands, the succession of Joanna began to excite ambitious speculations. Of all the male descendants of Charles I. none remained but the King of Hungary, and Charles, Duke of Durazzo, who had married the queen's niece, and was regarded by her as the presumptive heir to the crown. But, offended by her marriage with Otho of Brunswick, he procured the assistance of a Hungarian army to invade the kingdom, and, getting the queen into his power, took possession of the throne. In this enterprise he was seconded by Urban VI, against whom Joanna had unfortunately declared in the great schism of the Church. She was smothered with a pillow, in prison, by the order of Charles.

In the extremity of Joanna's distress she had sought assistance from a quarter too remote to afford it in time for her relief. She adopted Louis, Duke of Anjou, eldest uncle of the young King of France, Charles VI., as her heir in the kingdom of Naples and county of Provence. This bequest took effect without difficulty in the latter country. Naples was entirely in the possession of Charles of Durazzo. Louis, however, entered Italy with a very large army, consisting of at least 30,000 cavalry, and, according to some writers, more than double that number. He was joined by many Neapolitan barons attached to the late queen. But, by a fate not unusual is so imperfect a state of military science, their armament produced no adequate effect, and moldered away through disease and want of provisions. Louis himself dying not long afterward, the government of Charles III. appeared secure, and he was tempted to accept an offer of the crown of Hungary. This enterprise, equally unjust and injudicious, terminated in his assassination. Ladislaus, his son, a child ten years old, succeeded to the throne of Naples, under the guardianship of his mother, Margaret, whose exactions of money producing discontent, the party which had supported the late Duke of Anjou became powerful enough to call in his son. Louis II., as he was called, reigned at Naples, and possessed most part of the kingdom for several years; the young King Ladislaus, who retained some of the northern provinces, fixing his residence at Gaeta. If Louis had prosecuted the war with activity, it seems probable that he would have subdued his adversary. But his character was not very energetic; and Ladislaus, as he advanced to manhood, displaying many superior qualities, gained ground by degrees, till the Angevin barons, perceiving the turn of the tide, came over to his banner, and he recovered his whole dominions.

The kingdom of Naples, at the close of the fourteenth century, was still altogether a feudal government. This had been introduced by the first Norman kings, and the system had rather been strengthened than impaired under the Angevin line. The princes of the blood, who were at one time numerous, obtained extensive domains by way of appanage. The principality of Tarentum was a large portion of the kingdom. The rest was occupied by some great families, whose strength, as well as pride, was shown in the number of men-at-arms whom they could muster under their banner. After thoroughly establishing his government at home, Ladislaus directed his powerful resources toward foreign conquests. The ecclesiastical territories had never been secure from rebellion or usurpation; but legitimate sovereigns had hitherto respected the patrimony of the head of the church. It was reserved for Ladislaus, a feudal vassal of the Holy See, to seize upon Rome itself as his spoil. For several years, while the disordered state of the church, in consequence of the schism and the means taken to extinguish it, gave him an opportunity, the King of Naples occupied a great part of the papal territories. He was disposed to have carried his arms farther north, and attacked the republic of Florence, if not the states of Lombardy, when his death relieved Italy of this new tyranny.

An elder sister, Joanna II., reigned at Naples after Ladislaus. Under this queen, destitute of courage and understanding, and the slave of appetites which her age rendered doubly disgraceful, the kingdom relapsed into that state of anarchy from which its late sovereign had rescued it. She adopted first, as her heir and successor, Alfonso, King of Aragon and Sicily, but subsequently revoked her adoption, and substituted in his room another, Louis of Anjou, third in descent of that unsuccessful dynasty. Upon his death, the queen, who did not long survive him, settled the kingdom on his brother Regnier. The Neapolitans were generally disposed to execute this bequest. But Regnier was unluckily at that time a prisoner to the Duke of Burgundy, and though his wife maintained the cause with great spirit, it was difficult for her, or even for himself, to contend against the King of Aragon, who immediately laid claim to the kingdom. After a contest of several years, Regnier, having experienced the treacherous and selfish abandonment of his friends, yielded the game to his adversary; and Alfonso founded the Aragonese line of sovereigns at Naples, deriving pretensions more splendid than just from Manfred, from the house of Suabia, and from Roger Guiscard.

Sicily, after the reign of its deliverer, Frederick I., had unfortunately devolved upon weak or infant princes. The marriage of Maria, Queen of Sicily, with Martin, son of the King of Aragon, put an end to the national independence of her country. Dying without issue, she left the crown to her husband. This was consonant, perhaps, to the received law of some European kingdoms. But, upon the death of Martin, in 1409, his father, also named Martin, King of Aragon, took possession as heir to his son, without any election by the Sicilian Parliament. Thus was Sicily united to the crown of Aragon. Alfonso now enjoyed the three crowns of Aragon, Sicily, and Naples.

In the first year of Alfonso's Neapolitan war he was defeated and taken prisoner by a fleet of the Genoese, who, as constant enemies of the Catalans in all the naval warfare of the Mediterranean, had willingly lent their aid to the Angevin party. Genoa was at this time subject to Filippo Maria, Duke of Milan, and her royal captive was transmitted to his court. But here the brilliant graces of Alfonso's character won over his conqueror, who had no reason to consider the war as his own concern. The king persuaded him, on the contrary, that a strict alliance with an Aragonese dynasty in Naples against the pretensions of any French claimant would be the true policy and best security of Milan. In the words of Machiavelli:[1] "Alfonso was a man of great sagacity, and as soon as an opportunity presented itself of communicating with Filippo, he proved to him how completely he contravened his own interests, by favoring René (Regnier) and opposing himself; for it would be the business of the former, on becoming King of Naples, to introduce the French into Milan." That city, which he had entered as a prisoner, he left as a friend and ally. From this time Filippo Maria Visconti and Alfonso were firmly united in their Italian politics and formed one weight of the balance which the republics of Venice and Florence kept in equipoise. After the succession of Sforza to the duchy of Milan the same alliance was generally preserved. Sforza had still more powerful reasons than his predecessors for excluding the French from Italy, his own title being contested by the Duke of Orleans, who derived a claim from his mother Valentina, a daughter of Gian Galeazzo Visconti. But the two republics were no longer disposed toward war. Florence had spent a great deal without any advantage in her contest with Filippo Maria; and the new Duke of Milan had been the constant personal friend of Cosmo de' Medici, who altogether influenced that republic. At Venice, indeed, he had been at first regarded with very different sentiments; the Senate had prolonged their war against Milan with redoubled animosity after his elevation, deeming him a not less ambitious and more formidable neighbor than the Visconti. But they were deceived in the character of Sforza. Conscious that he had reached an eminence beyond his early hopes, he had no care but to secure for his family the possession of Milan, without disturbing the balance of Lombardy. Venice had little reason to expect further conquests in Lombardy; and if her ambition had inspired the hope of them, she was summoned by a stronger call, that of self-preservation, to defend her numerous and dispersed possessions in the Levant against the arms of Mohammed II. All Italy, indeed, felt the peril that impended from that side; and these various motions occasioned a quadruple league in 1455, between the King of Naples, the Duke of Milan, and the two republics, for the preservation of peace in Italy. One object of this alliance, and the prevailing object with Alfonso, was the implied guaranty of his succession in the kingdom of Naples to his illegitimate son Ferdinand. He had no lawful issue, and there seemed no reason why an acquisition of his own valor should pass against his will to collateral heirs. The Pope, as feudal superior of the kingdom, and the Neapolitan Parliament, the sole competent tribunal, confirmed the inheritance of Ferdinand.

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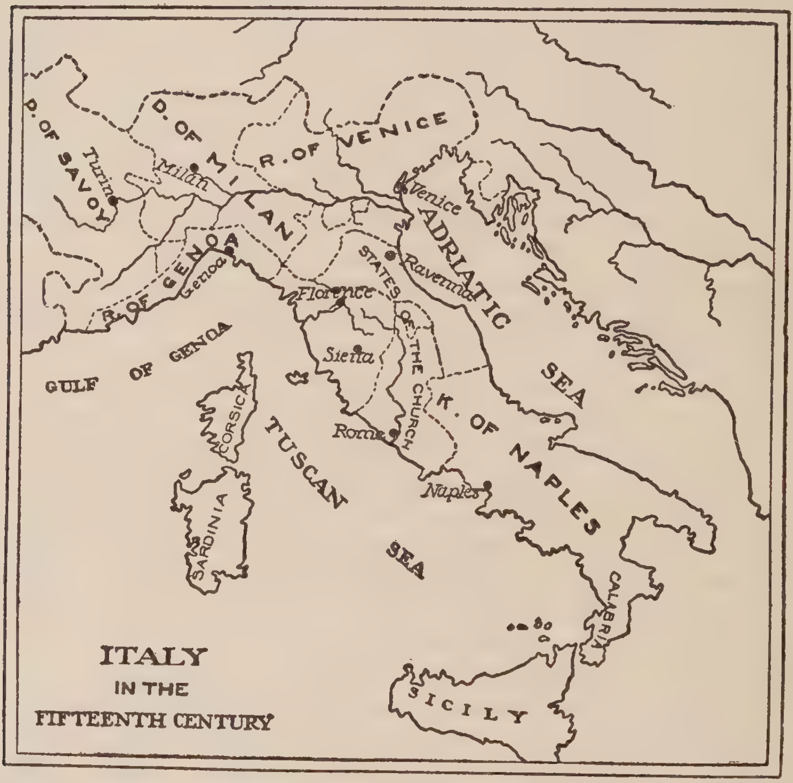
[1] Machiavelli, "History of Florence," p. 210.

Alfonso, surnamed the Magnanimous, was by far the most accomplished sovereign whom the fifteenth century produced in Italy. The virtues of chivalry were combined in him with the patronage of letters, and with more than their patronage, a real enthusiasm for learning, seldom found in a king, and especially in one so active and ambitious. This devotion to literature was, among the Italians of that age, almost as sure a passport to general admiration as his most chivalrous perfection. Magnificence in architecture and the pageantry of a splendid court gave fresh luster to his reign. The

Neapolitan perceived with grateful pride that he lived almost entirely among them, in preference to his patrimonial kingdom, and forgave the heavy taxes which faults nearly allied to his virtues, profuseness and ambition, compelled him to impose. But they remarked a very different character in his son. Ferdinand was as dark and vindictive as his father was affable and generous. The barons, who had many opportunities of ascertaining his disposition, began immediately upon Alfonso's death to cabal against his succession, turning their eyes first to the legitimate branch of the family, and on finding that prospect not favorable, to John, titular Duke of Calabria, son of Regnier of Anjou, who survived to protest against the revolution that had dethroned him. John was easily prevailed upon to undertake an invasion of Naples, but he underwent the fate that had always attended his family in their long competition for that throne. After some brilliant successes, his want of resources, aggravated by the defection of Genoa, on whose ancient enmity of the house of Aragon he had relied, was perceived by the barons of his party, who, according to the practice of their ancestors, returned one by one to the allegiance of Ferdinand.

The peace of Italy was little disturbed, except by a few domestic revolutions, for several years after this Neapolitan war. Even the most short-sighted politicians were sometimes withdrawn from selfish objects by the appalling progress of the Turks, though there was not energy enough in their councils to form any concerted plans for their own security. Venice maintained a long but unsuccessful contest with Mohammed II. for her maritime acquisitions in Greece and Albania; and it was not till after his death relieved Italy from its immediate terror that the ambitious republic endeavored to extend its territories by encroaching on the house of Este. Nor had Milan shown much disposition toward aggrandizement. Franceso Sforza had been succeeded—such is the condition of despotic governments—by his son Galeazzo, a tyrant more execrable than the worst of the Visconti. His extreme cruelties, and the insolence of a debauchery that gloried in the public dishonor of families, excited a few daring spirits to assassinate him. The Milanese profited by a tyrannicide the perpetrators of which they had not courage or gratitude to protect. The regency of Bonne of Savoy, mother of the infant Duke Gian Galeazzo, deserved the praise of wisdom and moderation. But it was overthrown in a few years by Ludovico Sforza, surnamed the Moor, her husband's brother, who, while he proclaimed his nephew's majority, and affected to treat him as a sovereign, hardly disguised in his conduct toward foreign states that he had usurped for himself the sole direction of government. The annals of one of the few surviving republics, that of Genoa, present to us, during the fifteenth as well as the preceding century, an unceasing series of revolutions, the shortest enumeration of which would occupy several pages.



ITALY
IN THE
FIFTEENTH CENTURY

Florence, the most illustrious and fortunate of Italian republics, was now rapidly descending from her rank among free commonwealths, though surrounded with more than usual luster in the eyes of Europe. We must take up the story of that city from the revolution of 1382, which restored the ancient Guelph aristocracy, or party of the Albizi, to the ascendency of which a popular insurrection had stripped them. Fifty years elapsed during which this party retained the government in its own hands with few attempts at disturbance. Their principal adversaries had been exiled, according to the invariable and perhaps necessary custom of a republic; the populace and inferior artisans were dispirited by their ill-success. But, while crushing with deliberate severity their avowed adversaries, the ruling party had left one family whose prudence gave no reasonable excuse for persecuting them, and whose popularity, as well as wealth, rendered the experiment hazardous. The Medici were among the most considerable of the new or plebeian nobility. From the first years of the fourteenth century their name not very unfrequently occurs in the domestic and military annals of Florence. Throughout the long depression of the popular faction the house of Medici was always regarded as their consolation and their hope. That house was now represented by Giovanni, whose immense wealth, honorably acquired by commercial dealings, which had already rendered the name celebrated in Europe, was expended with liberality and magnificence. Of a mild temper, and averse to cabals, Giovanni de' Medici did not attempt to set up a party, and contented himself with repressing some fresh encroachments on the popular part of the constitution which the Albizi were disposed to make. They, in their turn, freely admitted him to that share in public councils to which he was entitled by his eminence and virtues: a proof that the spirit of their administration was not illiberally exclusive. But, on the death of Giovanni, his son Cosmo de' Medici, inheriting his father's riches and estimation, with more talents and more ambition, thought it time to avail himself of the popularity belonging to his name. By extensive connections with the most eminent men in Italy, especially with Sforza, he came to be considered as the first citizen of Florence. "Cosmo," says Machiavelli, "was one of the most prudent of men, of grave and courteous demeanor, extremely liberal and humane. He never attempted anything against parties, or against rulers, but was bountiful to all, and by the unwearied generosity of his disposition made himself partisans of all ranks of the citizens."[2] The oligarchy were more than ever unpopular. Their administration since 1382 had indeed been in general eminently successful; the acquisition of Pisa and of other Tuscan cities had aggrandized the republic, while from the port of Leghorn her ships had begun to trade with Alexandria, and sometimes to contend with the Genoese. But an unprosperous war with Lucca diminished a reputation which was never sustained by public affection. Cosmo and his friends aggravated the errors of the government, which, having lost its wise and temperate leader, Nicola di Uzzano, had fallen into the rasher hands of Rinaldo degl' Albizi. He incurred the blame of being the first aggressor in a struggle which had become inevitable. Cosmo was arrested by command of a gonfalonier devoted to the Albizi, and condemned to banishment (1433). But the oligarchy had done too much or too little. The city was full of his friends; the honors conferred upon him in his exile attested the sentiments of Italy. Next year he was recalled in triumph to Florence, and the Albizi were completely overthrown.

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[2] Machiavelli, "History of Florence," p. 188.

It is vain to expect that a victorious faction will scruple to retaliate upon its enemies a still greater measure of injustice than it experienced at their hands. The Albizi had in general respected the legal forms of their free republic, which good citizens, and perhaps themselves might hope one day to see more effective. The Medici made all their government conducive to hereditary monarchy. A multitude of noble citizens were driven from their country; some were even put to death. A balia[3] was appointed for ten years to exclude all the Albizi from magistracy, and for the sake of this security to the ruling faction, to supersede the legitimate institutions of the republic. After the expiration of this period, the dictatorial power was renewed on pretense of fresh danger, and this was repeated constantly. Cosmo died at an advanced age, in 1464. His son, Piero de' Medici, though not deficient either in virtues or abilities, seemed too infirm in health for the administration of public affairs. A strong opposition was raised to the family pretensions of the Medici. Like all Florentine factions, it trusted to violence; and the chance of arms was not in its favor. From this revolution in 1466, when some of the most considerable citizens were banished, we may date an acknowledged supremacy in the house of Medici, the chief of which nominated the regular magistrates, and drew to himself the whole conduct of the republic.

The two sons of Piero, Lorenzo and Julian, especially the former, though young at their father's death, assumed, by the request of their friends, the reins of government (1469). It was impossible that, among a people who had so many recollections to attach to the name of liberty, among so many citizens whom their ancient constitution invited to public trust, the control of a single family should excite no dissatisfaction. But, if the people's wish to resign their freedom gives a title to accept the government of a country, the Medici were no usurpers. That family never lost the affections of the populace. The cry of *"Palle, Palle"* (their armorial distinction) would at any time rouse the Florentines to defend the chosen patrons of the republic. If their substantial influence could before be questioned, the conspiracy of the Pazzi, wherein Julian perished, excited an enthusiasm for the surviving brother that never ceased during his life. Nor was this anything unnatural, or any severe reproach to Florence. All around, in Lombardy and Romagna, the lamp of liberty had long since been extinguished in blood. The freedom of Siena and Genoa was dearly purchased by revolutionary proscriptions; that of Venice was only a name. The republic which had preserved longest, and with greatest purity, that vestal fire, had at least no relative degradation to fear in surrendering herself to Lorenzo de' Medici. I need not in this place expatiate upon what the name instantly suggests—the patronage of science and art, and the constellation of scholars and poets, of architects and painters, whose reflected beams cast their radiance around his head. His political reputation, though far less durable, was in his own age as conspicuous as that which he acquired in the history of letters. Equally active and sagacious, he held his way through the varying combinations of Italian policy, always with credit, and generally with success. Florence, if not enriched, was, upon the whole aggrandized during his administration, which was exposed to some severe storms from the unscrupulous adversaries, Sixtus IV. and Ferdinand of Naples, whom he was compelled to resist. As a patriot, indeed, we never can bestow upon Lorenzo de' Medici the meed of disinterested virtue. He completed that subversion of the Florentine republic which his two immediate ancestors had so well prepared. The two councils, her regular legislature, he superseded by a permanent Senate of seventy persons, while the gonfalonier and priors became a mockery and pageant to keep up the illusion of liberty, were taught that in exercising a legitimate authority without the sanction of their prince—a name now first heard at Florence—they incurred the risk of punishment for their audacity. Even the total dilapidation of his commercial wealth was repaired at the cost of the state; and the republic disgracefully screened the bankruptcy of the Medici by her own. But compared with the statesmen of his age, we can reproach Lorenzo with no heinous crime. He had many enemies; his descendants had many more; but no unequivocal charge of treachery or assassination has been substantiated against his memory. So much was Lorenzo esteemed by his contemporaries that his premature death has frequently been considered as the cause of those unhappy revolutions that speedily ensued, and which his foresight would, it is imagined, have been able to prevent, an opinion which, whether founded in probability or otherwise, attests the common sentiment about his character (1492). "His skill, prudence, and fortune were acknowledged with admiration, not only by the princes of Italy, but by those of distant countries. . . . Nor was there ever in Florence, or even in Italy, one so celebrated for wisdom, or for whose loss such universal regret was felt. . . . The citizens and all the princes of Italy mourned for him and sent their ambassadors to Florence to condole with the city on that occasion." [4]

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[3] A *balia* was a temporary delegation of sovereignty to a number, generally a considerable number of citizens, who during the period of their dictatorship named the magistrates, instead of drawing them by lot, and banished suspected individuals.

If, indeed, Lorenzo de' Medici could not have changed the destinies of Italy, however premature his death may appear if we consider the ordinary duration of human existence, it must be admitted that for his own welfare, perhaps for his glory, he had lived out the full measure of his time. An age of new and uncommon revolutions was about to arise, among the earliest of which the temporary downfall of his family was to be reckoned. The long-contested succession of Naples was again to involve Italy in war. The ambition of strangers was once more to desolate her plains. Ferdinand, King of Naples, had reigned for thirty years after the discomfiture of his competitor with success and ability, but with a degree of ill faith as well as tyranny toward his subjects that rendered his government deservedly odious. His son Alfonso, whose succession seemed now near at hand, was still more marked by these vices than himself. Meanwhile, the pretensions of the house of Anjou had legally descended, after the death of old Regnier, to Regnier, Duke of Lorraine, his grandson by a daughter, whose marriage into the house of Lorraine had, however, so displeased her father that he bequeathed his Neapolitan title, along with his real patrimony, the county of Provence, to a Count of Maine, by whose testament they became vested in the crown of France. Louis XI., while he took possession of Provence, gave himself no trouble about Naples. But Charles VIII., inheriting his father's ambition without that cool sagacity which restrained it in general from impracticable attempts, and far better circumstanced at home than Louis had ever been, was ripe for an expedition to vindicate his pretension upon Naples, or even for more extensive projects. It was now two centuries since the kings of France had begun to aim, by intervals, at conquests in Italy. The long English wars changed all views of the court of France to self-defense. But in the fifteenth century its plans of aggrandizement beyond the Alps began to revive. Several times, as I have mentioned, the republic of Genoa put itself under the dominion of France. The dukes of Savoy, possessing most part of Piedmont, and masters of the mountain passes, were, by birth, intermarriage, and habitual policy, completely dedicated to the French interests. Ludovico Sforza, who had usurped the guardianship of his nephew, the Duke of Milan, found, as that young man advanced to maturity, that one crime required to be completed by another. To depose and murder his ward was, however, a scheme that prudence, though not conscience, bade him hesitate to execute. He had rendered Ferdinand of Naples and Piero de' Medici, Lorenzo's heir, his decided enemies. A revolution at Milan would be the probable result of his continuing in usurpation. In these circumstances Ludovico Sforza excited the King of France to undertake the conquest of Naples. But in relieving himself from an immediate danger, Ludovico Sforza overlooked the consideration that the presumptive heir of the King of France claimed by an ancient title that principality of Milan which he was compassing by usurpation and murder. But neither Milan nor Naples was free from other claimants than France, nor was she reserved to enjoy unmolested the spoil of Italy. A louder and a louder strain of warlike dissonance will be heard from the banks of the Danube and from the Mediterranean Gulf. The dark and wily Ferdinand, the rash and lively Maximilian, are preparing to hasten into the lists; the schemes of ambition are assuming a more comprehensive aspect, and the controversy of Neapolitan succession is to expand into the long rivalry between the houses of France and Austria. In 1494 Charles VIII. of France made his famous invasion of Italy and this date may serve as indicating the end of the Middle Ages, as it marks the beginning of international diplomacy among the nations of Europe. Before coming to this we must once more retrace our steps, to follow up the history of Savoy, and to describe briefly the Renaissance in Italy which fitly marks the transition from medieval to modern history.

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[4] Machiavelli, "History of Florence," p. 402.

Chapter XXXV

THE HOUSE OF SAVOY. 1000-1466

LITTLE has yet been said about the house of Savoy. The princes of this house have, however, taken so distinguished a part in the affairs of Italy that it will be proper now to devote a chapter in order to explain the origin and rise of a family to which Italy owes her present position as a nation once more united under one single head.

In the ninth century Savoy, having been conquered by Rudolph, King of Burgundy, became a part of that kingdom, to which was afterward added the whole valley of Aosta. But the scepter of Burgundy, having come in the year 993 into the hands of another Rudolph, surnamed the Idle (as being imbecile and incapable of governing), and he having died without issue, the kingdom of Burgundy became split up into many divisions. Thus, after the death of Rudolph, the dukes who had governed the various provinces in the name of the king constituted themselves independent sovereigns. Among these was one Humbert, called Biancamano (the white-handed), who was a duke of Switzerland, near the lake of Geneva, and at the same time had possession of Savoy and the valley of Aosta. He accordingly now began to exercise a sovereign rule over the states which he had already governed as an hereditary, though subordinate, prince, and this was the primary root of the royal house of Savoy.

On the death of Humbert, he was succeeded by his eldest son, Amadeus I., and he dying without issue, the kingdom came into the hands of his brother Otho. Otho married Adelaide, Princess of Susa and Turin, and through her he gradually extended his dominions beyond the Alps into Italy. Being left early a widow, she brought up with pious care her sons Peter I. and Amadeus II., both of whom reigned one after the other, and both died before their mother. The inheritance then passed into the hands of Humbert II., surnamed the Strong, son of Amadeus II.

Humbert II. had designed to accompany the crusades for the conquest of the Holy Land, but was hindered by various little wars which he had to wage in order to retain his patrimony. St. Anselm, a native of Aosta and Archbishop of Canterbury, addressed a letter to him, in which, after praising his hereditary devotion, he begged him to remember that the churches were not put under his hereditary dominion, but under his hereditary reverence and protection. Humbert the Strong died in 1103, and the crown came into the hands of Amadeus III. while yet a child under the tutelage of his mother. He also, when grown up, followed the example of many other princes, and joined the crusades, moved to compassion by the lamentable state into which the holy places had fallen under the dominion of the Turks. As regards Amadeus, after many vain efforts he was obliged to return to his country, but having arrived at the Island of Cyprus, he was overtaken by sickness, and died at Nicosia, the capital of that island.

The reign of his successor, Humbert III. (called the Saint), was rendered glorious by the Christian virtues which he practiced during the whole period of his life. He lived in the times of Frederick Barbarossa (1146-1188), and this emperor made havoc of the states belonging to him.

But Humbert succeeded in regaining the cities and lands which the emperor had taken from him. This prince is always designated in history by the title of Humbert the Saint, and in 1838 he was solemnly canonized by the Pope.

While the Guelph and Ghibelline factions were carrying on sanguinary wars against each other, the power of the dukes of Savoy went on consolidating, and Thomas I. (1188-1233) embellished and fortified the city of Chambery, in order to give to his states a capital worthy of a prince, and made several territorial acquisitions. Apparently also he was the initiator of that policy of balancing between the great powers which geography rendered necessary and thanks to which the house of Savoy slowly grew stronger.

Amadeus IV. succeeded him (1233-1253), and after a reign of twenty years full of adventure, died, leaving a son only eight years of age, named Boniface. At that time Asti was an independent city, and Turin was also governed in the same manner, although subject to the dukes of Savoy. A war had broken out between these two cities; the army of Asti marched in full force upon Moncalieri, where they discomfited the allies of Boniface, and advanced to Turin, in which city they numbered many partisans.

His uncle went out to oppose them, but was beaten, and had to take refuge in the city, where the party favorable to Asti took him and put him into prison. When the various sovereigns of Europe, and especially Pope Alexander IV., heard of this treatment, they endeavored to set him at liberty; but soon after he died, in the year 1259. The tutelage of Boniface then devolved on his two uncles until his death, which happened in the year 1263. In 1233 the Emperor Frederick II. erected Chablais and Aosta into a duchy and thereafter the counts of Savoy became dukes. The only suzerain of Savoy was the emperor, and this in itself tended to give the Savoyard princes a certain distinction.

The dukedom next came into the hands of his uncle Peter, named the Little Charlemagne, from his valor in arms, and his prudence in the government of the state. He made conquests chiefly in Savoy, Switzerland, and Provence. The greater part of the cities on the Italian side of the Alps were now held by his cousins, through an hereditary division of rights, while some of them were invaded by the forces of Asti, and others were in full rebellion; but notwithstanding all this, Peter kept hold of many places in Italy, especially the castles of Rivoli, Avigliana, and Susa.

Peter's death took place in the year 1268, when he was succeeded by Philip I., who suffered a miserable life of disease, aggravated by the cares of government. Dying at length without issue, he was succeeded by his nephew Amadeus V., surnamed "The Great," who already possessed a considerable territory in Piedmont (1285-1323.) He had to carry on war against the Genevese and also against the state of Dauphigny, but the most important of his wars was that which he was engaged in against William, Marquis of Montferrat. The counts of Savoy had been much occupied in their own proper dominions on the west of the Alps, and owing to the great subdivisions of hereditary rights, the cousins possessed but little land and little power in Italy. William of Casale, capital of Montferrat, had in the meantime extended his conquests over Vercelli, Tortona, Alessandria, Alba, and Ivrea, even to the very neighborhood of Turin itself. But Genoa, Asti, Chieri, and Milan stood resolutely opposed to him, and invited Count[1] Amadeus to join their alliance. On this invitation he came over into Piedmont, and having conquered William, recovered many of the lands which had been lost, and added others to his principality.

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[1] Although having the legal title of duke, after 1233, yet as Savoy was still a county, the heads of the house of Savoy continued for some time to be called "count."

But now, being greatly occupied with the affairs of Savoy and Switzerland, and wishing to make an end of the protests of his nephew Philip, a treaty was signed between them to the following effect: Philip was to give up all pretensions in respect of Savoy and the dukedom of Aosta, while Amadeus was to resign Piedmont into his hands as a feudal possession, with exception of the valley of Susa. Philip accordingly transferred his court to Pinerolo, and soon after married Isabella, who brought him as a dowry the principality of Achaia in Greece. From her descended the whole branch of the princes of Achaia, cousins of the counts of Savoy, and holding feudal tenure from the states of Piedmont. Amadeus, notwithstanding the terms of this treaty, did not renounce the idea of making new conquests in Piedmont, and actually obtained Ivrea and the territory of Canova as a gift from the Emperor Henry III. He died in the year 1323.

His eldest son Edward then assumed the reins of government, and signalized himself in many wars against the enemies of Savoy, and also in favor of the King of France, displaying a valor that shrank from no trial, but which often proved too rash and impetuous. Generous to excess, he was often reduced to great straits, and on this account was surnamed "The Liberal." He died in 1329 without male issue, so that he was succeeded by his brother Hæmon, who made great efforts to cancel the debts which Edward had left behind him. Hæmon died in 1343, leaving the state to his eldest son Amadeus, surnamed Count Verde.

Amadeus VI., when only fourteen years of age, made his appearance at a solemn tournament in Chambery to give proof of his prowess and dexterity. He was clothed all in green, a color which from that time he uniformly adopted, so that the people gave him the sobriquet of Count Verde, or the green knight. Of him Belgiojoso says: "He was one of those men who are of sufficient ability to found the grandeur and the power of a sovereign family and of the territory confided to them." In Piedmont he kept up the war against the Count of Montferrat and the Prince of Achaia, and recovered many of the lands which they had previously taken. He instituted the order of the Collar of Savoy, now known by the name of St. Annunziata, which consisted of fifteen knights, in honor of the fifteen mysteries of the Rosary. The most celebrated of his undertakings was an expedition to the East. John Palæologus, who was then emperor in Constantinople, was greatly harassed by the Turks, and obliged to form a league against them. Despairing of any other aid, he sent ambassadors to Pope Urban V., supplicating his assistance, and holding out to him the prospect of restoring unity between the Catholic Church in the East and in the West. The Pope, fearing the dangers which hung over the Christian faith by reason of the continual progress of the Turks, used every effort to induce the King of France, the King of Cyprus, the German emperor, and Amadeus V., as well as some other potentates, to unite their arms in driving back the Turks, already within a short distance of Constantinople. But he met with no success. One wanted men, another money, and others courage. Amadeus VI. was the only one who came to the help of the Greek Empire. For this purpose, he got together ships, borrowed money, assembled troops, and weighed anchor from Venice with his whole army, in the year 1366. But the Turks already possessed the city of Gallipoli, which commands the Dardanelles. Amadeus, accordingly, prepared to attack it, and making a brave assault upon the walls, took it by force. His army was thus enabled to enter the straits and reach Constantinople, where he was at once hailed as a deliverer. To preserve the memory of this honorable expedition, a statue of the count was erected in bronze at Turin, in the year 1853, in front of the municipal palace, where he is represented raising his sword on high against the Bulgarians, and trampling those already fallen under his feet.

On his arrival in Italy he had to draw the sword against the Visconti of Milan. The greater part of these Visconti had to employ force and exercise oppression to maintain their power, and Galeazzo Visconti collected together a large number of soldiers with the design of getting Montferrat under his dominion, it being a territory remarkable for its fertility and for the exquisite quality of its wine. Amadeus did not delay marching against him, and after several sanguinary encounters put the Milanese to flight, remaining thus the peaceful possessor of his states.

At length, in the year 1383, this great warrior, having gone with two thousand soldiers to the assistance of Louis, and having arrived in the country of the Abruzzi, was seized with a severe malady, which in a few days ended his life. He was a good prince, and his death was lamented by all. Already the house of Savoy had given evidence of its stability and of its powers of territorial expansion. Yet, situated as it was on the frontier with part of its lands outside Italy, it maintained an attitude of aloofness from many affairs in Italy.

The last Count of Savoy was Amadeus VII., called Count Rosso (or the red count), a man endowed by nature with the highest qualities, and a worthy descendant of Count Verde, his father. He gave great assistance to the King of France against the English and Dutch. The war between Louis of Anjou and Charles of Durazzo, then master of the maritime country of Nice, still continued during his reign. But the inhabitants of Nice, tired of these interminable discords, decided to shake off the yoke and place their country henceforth under the paternal government of the counts of Savoy.

Amadeus VIII. in 1416 received the title of Duke of Savoy and Chablais, from the emperor, as well as those of Marquis of Aosta and Italy and Count of Piedmont and of the territory of Geneva. This wise monarch, after having greatly enlarged his states, now bent his whole mind to the subject of legislation, and compiled a codex, known by the name of the "*Statuta Subaudiæ,*" or Constitutions of Savoy. This codex is looked upon as a masterpiece, and gained for its author the surname of Solomon. But worldly prosperity alone cannot satisfy the mind. Amadeus, fortunate in every enterprise, and conqueror over every enemy, wished also to conquer himself. In his desire to promote the glory of God, he renounced the throne in favor of his son Louis, retired to the convent of Ripaglia, near Geneva, and, abandoning every earthly glory, clothed himself as a hermit to pass the rest of his days in solitary devotion.

A curious circumstance, however, arose to disturb the quiet of his life. The Roman Catholic Church was at that time harassed by the quarrel between the Council of Basle and Pope Eugenius IV., with the result that the council deposed Eugenius and elected Duke Amadeus as Pope. Thus, after five years of a solitary life, he was induced by the desire of quieting the discords which agitated the church to accept the proffered charge, and was saluted as Pope under the name of Felix V. In the meantime Eugenius IV. died, and Nicolas V. being elected his successor, Felix spontaneously resigned, and so put an end to a state of things which caused great harm and great affliction to the Roman Catholic Church. Having called together another council of prelates, he laid down the insignia of office, renounced the pontificate, keeping only the title of cardinal and apostolic legate, and returned to his loved solitude of Ripaglia. Thus he passed another year and a half, always devoted to spiritual duties, and died peaceably in the year 1451.

The reign of his son Louis was less glorious than that of his father. He held the throne for fifteen years, and suffered much, both from his subjects and from his son Louis. Nevertheless, his name is still celebrated in history, as it was during his reign that the dukes of Savoy received the title of King of Cyprus, a title which they retained down to the nineteenth century.

Chapter XXXVI

THE ITALIAN RENAISSANCE

IN one short chapter, which is all that can be devoted to the subject, it is futile to try to present even a résumé of so vast a movement as the Renaissance;[1] what will be attempted, therefore, will be to touch upon certain aspects of the period, quoting freely from some of the foremost writers, hoping that the reader will read further for himself, in the rich and voluminous literature of the subject.[2]

In the first place, what was the Renaissance?

Speaking broadly, we may begin by saying that it was the movement of transition by which the medieval world grew into the modern world. Man in 1300 was medieval; in 1500 he was modern. In this sense, the Renaissance embraces all those multiform activities of the human mind which wrought so vast a change. Taken in a more concrete sense, the Renaissance means for one man the revival of learning, for another the revival of art, for a third the revival of science, for still another the great geographical discoveries—in short, the definition depends on the man's particular field. The famous phrase of Michelet[3] describes it as "the discovery of the world and of man." To comprehend this we must first know something about medieval man and how greatly he differed from the modern—more so than the modern man differs from the classical man. The Middle Ages were neither critical nor scientific, and perhaps the chief results of the work of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries was the renaissance of criticism and scientific methods, with the consequent development of individualism and revolt against authority. In the Middle Ages, moreover, it was thought wrong to enjoy art or nature in themselves. Petrarch, really the first man of the new life, was also the first, since classic days, to climb a hill in order to enjoy the view! After him the study of nature and of mankind was taken up with avidity, and from this pursuit we have a special field of the Renaissance called Humanism.

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[1] See "The Renaissance" in the "Cambridge Modern History" series, planned by Lord Acton, vol. i., London, 1902.

[2] See, in especial, Symonds's "Short History of the Renaissance" and Schaff's "The Renaissance."

[3] Michelet, "*Histoire de France*," vol. vii.

"The reason why Italy took the lead in the Renaissance was that Italy possessed a language, a favorable climate, political freedom, and commercial prosperity at a time when other nations were still semi-barbarous."[4] It was the creation of governments and the accumulation of wealth, with the concomitant of leisure, that gave the opportunity for the Renaissance. It was in Italy that commerce first began on a large scale after the "Dark Ages," and the growth of rich city states likewise. Such states, with "their intense stimulus to individual ambition, combined to emancipate the individual and to foster in him a belief in his own powers, and an independence of judgment and action necessary as a preliminary to the revival of learning."[5] When, as was soon the case, corruption reigned nearly supreme in Italy, the cause was not far to seek: "The fundamental vice of this character, *i. e.,* the Italian in the Renaissance, was at the same time a condition of its greatness—namely, excessive individualism."[6]

Turning now to glance at some of the greatest names in our period, we come first of all to Dante.[7] "Dante, Petrarca, and Boccaccio represent the birth and glory of Italian literature, and are the fathers of the revival of letters. . . . Dante, the poet, statesman, philosopher, and theologian, the first of Italian classics and the greatest of medieval poets, has given us in his 'Divine Comedy,' conceived in 1300 . . . a poetic view of the moral universe under the aspect of eternity. . . . It is a mirror of medieval Christianity, and at the same time a work of universal significance and perennial interest. It connects the Middle Ages with the modern world."[8] Dante's ideas were largely medieval, and in fact his real contribution to the Renaissance was his use of the vernacular; he may be said to have created a literary Italian language, forming it from the elements common to the various peninsular dialects. "Dante . . . was and remained the man who first thrust antiquity into the foreground of national culture. In the 'Divine Comedy' he treats the ancient and Christian worlds, not indeed as of equal authority, but as parallel to one another."[9]

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[4] Symonds, "Age of Despots," p. 4.

[5] Adams, "Mediæval Civilization," p. 373.

[6] Burckhardt, "*Die Kultur der Renaissance in Italien,*" vol. ii. p. 246.

[7] See "Dante and His Time," by K. Federn, London, 1902; and also "*Menschen u. Kunst der ital. Renaissance,*" R. Saitchick, Berlin, 1903.

[8] Schaff, "The Renaissance," p. 13.

With Petrarch, that is, before his death in 1374, we may say that the Renaissance, at least in so far as we mean the revival of learning, was in full swing. "Petrarch, who lives in the memory of most people nowadays chiefly as a great Italian poet, owed his fame among his contemporaries rather to the fact that he was a kind of living representative of antiquity" is the comment of Burckhardt, the keen German critic. He had a passion for classical life and ardently pursued the task of collecting MSS. He loved and admired nature and was critical and independent in his judgments; and we find him consciously attacking the medieval system in many of its branches, ridiculing the universities, the astrologers, and the schoolmen.

Boccaccio, a contemporary and admirer of Petrarch, was only less famous than his master. He is now known principally as the author of the "*Decameron,*" which he would greatly have liked to expurgate before he died. "Dante is admired, Petrarch is praised, Boccaccio is read."

"Nothing is more obvious to the student who has mastered the first difficulties caused by the intricacies of Italian history than the fact that all the mental force of the nation was generated in Tuscany, and radiated thence as from a center of vital heat and life over the rest of the peninsula. This is true of the revival of learning no less than of the fine arts and of the origin of science. From the republics of Tuscany, and from Florence[10] in particular, proceeded the impulse and the energy that led to fruitful results in all these departments."[8] In Florence there was not only a large class of keen-minded and well-to-do burghers, but also an active political life. Moreover, the party leaders devoted themselves to the encouragement of the Renaissance, even before the supremacy of the Medici family. The Medici are perhaps more celebrated from their connection with this aspect of affairs than from their political prominence.

Cosmo de' Medici (1389-1464), "the father of his country," and in all but name the ruler of Florence, was a man of vast wealth with extensive commercial relations throughout the then trade world, and he utilized his position to further learning and science by acquiring the services of Greek scholars and foreign MSS. He was an eager buyer of books, and founded a famous library in Florence. He showered attentions and pensions on savants, and a coterie of scholars grew up in Florence, later much increased by his grandson, Lorenzo il Magnifico (Aretino, Poggio, Gemisthus Pletho among others). "He was," says Schaff, "both the Rothschild and the Mæcenas of his age. . . . Cosmo encouraged scholars by gifts of money and the purchase of MSS. without the air of condescension which spoils the gift, but with the feeling of respect and gratitude for superior merit." His grandson, the famous Lorenzo,[12] however, is more celebrated as a patron of the Renaissance (1449-1492). "He possessed one of those natures fitted to comprehend all knowledge and to sympathize with the most diverse forms of life. While he never for a moment relaxed his grasp on politics, among philosophers he passed for a sage, among men of letters for an original and graceful poet, among scholars for a Grecian sensitive to every nicety of Attic idiom, among artists for an amateur gifted with refined discernment and consummate taste."[13] The foremost men at his court were Ficino, a religious philosopher and erudite Greek scholar; and Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, who seemed to possess all the talents and graces of mind and body, an eminent and dignified scholar whose knowledge was prodigious.

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[9] Burckhardt, vol. ii. p. 285.

[10] See K. Brandi, "*Die Renaissance in Florenz u. Rom,*" Leipsic, 1900.

[11] Symonds, "Short History of the Renaissance in Italy," p. 162.

Shortly after the death of Lorenzo we come to the curious and interesting episode which is connected with the rule of the monk, Girolamo Savonarola.[14] He governed the city not as had the Medici, by wealth, corruption, and influence, but by the fiery passion of his eloquence. He called upon the pleasure-loving Florentines to reform their immoral lives, and so great was his power that for a time he actually maintained a sort of government. Though there is no doubt that he was justified in preaching against Pope Alexander VI., they soon came into conflict. By the pontiff he was ordered to cease preaching till the sedition excited by his eloquence had quieted down. This the monk obstinately refused to do. He was then tried and found guilty of having published false prophecies, of being a heretic and an instigator of sedition. He was next given over to the secular authority, condemned to death and executed in May, 1498.

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[12] See E. Armstrong, "Lorenzo de' Medici," New York, 1902. ("Heroes of the Nations.")

[13] Symonds, "Short History of the Renaissance," p. 174.

[14] See A. Gobineau, "*La Renaissance-Savonarola,* C. Borgia, Jules II., Léon X., et M. Ange," Paris. 1877.

The example of the Medici was followed by nearly all the other despots of the peninsula, including the Popes, foremost among them being Ferdinand I. of the two Sicilies, and the D'Este family of Ferrara, and even the corrupt tyrants such as the Malatesta of Rimini.

Accompanying the growth of Humanism, but reaching its climax later, came the Renaissance of art,[15] at first classical in form and religious in spirit, and later wholly modern and largely pagan. "Not only was each department of the fine arts practiced with singular success, not only was the national genius to a very large extent absorbed by painting, sculpture, and architecture, but the æsthetic impulse was more subtly and widely diffused than this alone would imply." [16] Moreover, not only did æsthetic feeling express itself in creation; classical works of art were eagerly searched out and when found assigned places of honor in museums. About 1500, for example, the Laocoön, the Apollo Belvedere, and the torso of Hercules were brought to light. "As in ancient Greece, so also in Renaissance Italy, the fine arts assumed the first place in the intellectual culture of the nation. . . . Painting was the art of arts for Italy. . . . Whatever painting touched became by that touch human. . . . For the painters of the full Renaissance, Roman martyrs and Olympian deities were alike burghers of one spiritual city, the city of the beautiful and human. . . . Having coördinated the Christian and pagan traditions in its work of beauty, painting could advance no farther." [17] From Cimabue to Giotto is like the transition from Dante to Petrarch.

Painting started in the fourteenth century in the cities of Siena and Florence, with Cimabue and Duccio. Following them were Giotto, Andrea Orcagna, and Fra Angelico; from these men the transition to Titian, Veronese, and Raphael is stupendous indeed, not alone in form, method, and technique, but in the motive ideas.

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[15] See "*Hist. de la Renaissance artistique en Italie,*" by C. Blanc, Paris 1889, ii.

[16] Symonds, "Short History of Renaissance," p. 214; see chap. xii. for a good summary of this subject.

[17] Symonds, "The Fine Arts," pp. 22 and 25.

Michael Angelo, "in whom the Renaissance culminated," was painter, sculptor, architect, and master in all. He "made art the vehicle of lofty and soul-shaking thought." The sixteenth century painters will be referred to again later.

Architecture is at the same time one of the most expressive of arts and one which early emerges "from barbarism in the service of religion and of civic life. In no way is the characteristic diversity of Italian communities so noticeable as in their buildings." Its early start is seen in the cathedral at Pisa, begun in 1063. The strength of classical influence is shown by the prevalence of Romanesque forms and in the slight hold of Gothic. Also there are traces of Oriental influence, with the notable illustration of St. Mark's. Probably the finest example of early Renaissance architecture is the Duomo at Florence, planned by Brunelleschi. St. Peter's is a later development, for, though begun by Bramante, it was long in being completed. Like painting, architecture finally lost most of its original grandeur, and we have the hideous baroque forms.

Niccolo Pisano may be called the father of Italian sculpture. The classic influence was even stronger than in painting, and the tendency to servile imitation was very powerful. After Pisano, other famous sculptors are Lorenzo Ghiberti, whose genius produced the doors of the Baptistery at Florence, said by Michael Angelo to be worthy to serve as doors to Paradise; Donatello, sculptor of "David," and Benvenuto Cellini.

The object of the Popes, after the Council of Constance, had failed in its attempt to impose a constitution on the papal monarchy, was to build up a state in Central Italy. With the end of the Middle Ages the Pope had lost his position as temporal head of Western Europe, attained by Innocent III., and became primarily a secular Italian prince, like many others, "with certain sacerdotal additions." "The Pope was a king as well as a bishop. . . . With the rise of international politics and the beginning of the modern conflict of state with state for European supremacy . . . Italy was the first battleground of nations. It was the practically unoccupied piece of ground lying first at hand in which each hoped to gain some great advantage over the others. In this struggle of armies and diplomacy the Popes had an immediate and vital interest. They must enter into it on the same footing and with the same weapons as Austria and Spain, and this necessity of constantly striving to preserve the independence of their little kingdom in the turmoil of European politics, or to recover it when lost, has been a controlling element in the papal policy down to the reign of Leo XIII. (and still is to-day), a perpetually harassing and disabling necessity, judged from the point of view of its religious position." [18] At the outset this worldly tendency was carried to great excess, and we have the singular spectacle of Alexander VI. (Borgia) in the Vatican, surrounded by his publicly acknowledged children—Cesare, Lucrezia, etc.[19] It was such a spectacle and more directly the profound abuses which it implied, and the consequent impossibility of effecting, as was believed, any improvement within the old church, that led in the sixteenth century to the Protestant revolution on the Continent and to the changes in, but not revolution of, the Anglican Church. A large part of Europe was thereby severed from the Catholic communion, and before the end of the sixteenth century the Roman Church had defined its dogmas at the Council of Trent, and the English Church had freed itself from the papal authority and taken its place as an independent branch of the Christian Church.

"We find in the Popes of the period what has been already noticed in the despots; learning, the patronage of the arts, the passion for magnificence, and the refinements of polite culture, alternating and not infrequently combined with barbarous ferocity of temper, and with savage and coarse tastes." [20] Yet although it might seem that the Italians would have been the first to revolt as being the best informed of these matters, this was not the case, for there was but one Borgia, and though Protestantism gained some few adherents for a time, it never gained the masses, and while skepticism abounded in Italy, there was no general movement, and the end of the century saw an increased devotion to the Pope.

As we have said, the Renaissance was the period when the medieval world was transformed into the modern one. During this time we have the growth and consolidation of national governments, ruling over compact peoples, of national languages and literatures; we have also many inventions and discoveries; the printing

[18] Adams, "Mediæval Civilization," pp. 414-415.

[19] See "*Die Borgia u. ihre Zeit,*" by V. von Schubert-Soldern, Dresden, 1902, and "*Les Borgias, Hist. du Pape Alexandre VI., de César, et de Lucrèce Borgia,*" by L'Abbé Clément, Paris, 1882.

[20] Symonds, "Short History of Renaissance," p. 56.

press and gunpowder; the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope and of America, etc. In so far as any exact date has value in marking the transition from one age to another, we may say that modern times began with the famous expedition of Charles VIII. of France in 1494, when, as De Commines has it, he conquered Italy with a "piece of chalk," and inaugurated thereby the Italian wars and modern diplomacy.

PART III

MODERN ITALY. 1494—

Chapter XXXVII

LUDOVICO IL MORO AND THE FRENCH IN ITALY

1494-1515

FRANCESCO SFORZA had a long and glorious reign, during which he made himself both feared and honored by his subjects. At his death he left the ducal crown to his son Galeazzo Maria, who, after a dishonorable reign of ten years, was killed by three conspirators in 1476. He was succeeded by his son, Gian Galeazzo Maria, who was eight years of age. An uncle of the young prince (called Ludovico il Moro, in consequence of his dark skin) undertook to govern the Milanese until his nephew should be of an age to assume the reins. But Ludovico was ambitious and cruel. Jealous of seeing the title of duke borne by an infant, he formed the design of seizing the throne and ascending it himself; but knowing that the Milanese loved the prince in consequence of his youth and innocence, and would not tolerate such an injury, he sought to stir up troubles in Italy. Soon after the prince had come to a mature age, he made a secret proposal to the King of France, Charles VIII., to march to the conquest of Naples, to the throne of which Charles pretended to have certain rights, derived from the house of Anjou. The policy of Ludovico has been too greatly blamed,—every Italian prince called in the foreigner when it suited his own plans. Charles accepted with pleasure the offer, so much the more as Ludovico promised to aid him in conquering that kingdom, now under the rule of a prince named Ferdinand I. In a short time a disciplined army of French, bringing with them cannon in great number, and led by Charles himself, made its appearance before the gates of Milan, where it was impatiently expected (1494). Ludovico had carpets and flowers strewn along the streets through which the monarch was to pass, and went himself to meet him at the head of the chief lords of the court.

Ludovico wished to prevent his nephew from holding any communication with Charles, and to this end kept him in a certain way prisoner in Pavia, where he now lay ill; but the king went himself to visit him, and the young duke took occasion to plead with him for himself and his children, the duchess at the same time throwing herself at his feet and beseeching him to have compassion on her unfortunate husband and the whole family. Charles, moved by her tears, raised her up kindly and promised not to abandon them. But the king was light-minded and eager for gold, and forgot his promise as soon as he had taken his departure. On the following day news was received that Gian Galeazzo was dead, poisoned by his uncle, who at the same moment proclaimed himself Duke of Milan.

The King of France on his way to Naples had to pass through Tuscany. Here he encountered great difficulties, and if the valorous Lorenzi de' Medici had still been living, he would probably have been worsted. But his son Piero had now succeeded him, who, terrified by the cruelties which the French exercised, gave them a large sum of money and put them in possession of all the fortresses, for which act the people drove him from the city in disgust.

Thus, then, the French entered Florence victoriously. The king had no sooner arrived than he called the chief citizens together and set before them hard conditions of peace. When the Florentines objected, Charles said: "I shall sound my trumpets," in reply to which one of the citizens answered: "And we shall sound our bells." Impressed by this reply Charles granted easier conditions, and left the town with a few subsidies only, but the Medici were not recalled.

On arriving at Naples he seized upon the throne of Ferdinand almost without a contest (February, 1495) and made himself master of the country; but the ill conduct of the French soldiers excited universal indignation. Many Italian princes, the Pope, the Venetians, Maximilian, King of Germany, Ferdinand the Catholic, nay, even Ludovico himself, for he now, owing to French success, feared that Louis, Duke of Orleans, would assert his claims to Milan, claims which he derived from his grandmother, Valentina Visconti, all made the League of Venice to chase the French out of Italy. Charles VIII., when he heard this resolution, set out immediately on his return to France. Arriving at Fornovo, he encountered the army of the allies. A fierce battle was fought, which ended disastrously for the French, who suffered heavy losses. Even the king himself scarcely managed to cut his way through the enemy, with a part of his troops, as far as Asti, and thence to escape into France (1495). French conquests at once melted away.

After these events things remained tranquil in Italy for some time, although the Italians had not learned from Charles's expedition the need of union as they ought to have done, until another king of France, Louis XII., successor to Charles VIII., again passed the Alps with a more formidable army, to avenge the losses of his predecessor, and also to make good his own claim to Milan. He advanced into Italy almost without opposition. The Duke of Savoy could have very well hindered him, but either fearing he had not sufficient forces, or wishing to preserve peace among his subjects, or perhaps because the King of France had promised him a portion of Lombardy, certain it is that he left the passes of the Alps free. Moreover, Ludovico il Moro had incurred the hatred of his subjects through his treatment of Gian Galeazzo, so that he vainly attempted to defend his dukedom. Venice and Pope Alexander VI. had allied with France, and Ludovico had not a single ally. He was taken prisoner by the French at Novara, just as he was in the act of slipping through the hands of the enemy in the disguise of a servant. Thus the city of Milan fell into the hands of the French, and Ludovico himself was sent into France in 1500. There he remained ten years in confinement and died in prison. Thus the prince who had first invited the French into Italy, and barbarously murdered his nephew in prison, finished his days in exile, and himself died a prisoner. The French held Milan till 1512.

At this time arose and fell a power which rendered itself for a while formidable in Italy. Cæsar Borgia, son of Pope Alexander VI. (1492-1503), better known under the name of Duke of Valentino, had deliberated how he could best put down the minor princes who held power within the states of the church. He had just succeeded in overcoming them all, when, on the death of the Pope and the illness of the duke himself, the new government was dissolved, and the duke, after having been taken prisoner by Pope Julius II., escaped to Naples. Captured in this city, he was sent into Spain, and there died fighting for the King of Navarre. Meanwhile Louis of France carried on war for the conquest of Naples, where he now found Ferdinand of Spain as his rival. After a desperate struggle Louis was finally beaten and by 1504 Naples passed to Spain.

At the time of which we are now speaking, Venice was still the most powerful republic of Italy, being always governed by the chief men, and never having fallen into the hands of despots, as was the case with the republics of Florence and Genoa. But just as a man surrounded with grandeur easily becomes a victim to pride, so the Venetians, trusting to their power, were eager to make themselves masters of many of the cities which belonged to other states.

They took Rimini, Faenza, Cesena, and Ravenna, which had been hitherto in the possession of the Papal See; they occupied Dalmatia, which belonged to the patriarchate of Aquileia, and they took the island of Cyprus. Venice had thus completely changed her earlier character by acquiring large territories. So long as Italy was left to itself Venice was strong enough to hold her own. She was soon to rue her mistake in calling in the French. Still further, they had united themselves with the French in making war upon Ludovico, on the agreement that part of Lombardy should be ceded to them. In a word, the Venetians threatened to extend their dominion so far as to arouse the jealousy of the other Italian states, appropriating to themselves many cities, districts, and provinces which belonged to others. For this reason, the principal potentates of Europe, the Emperor of Germany and the King of France, the King of Spain and Pope Julius II., together with the Florentines, the dukes of Mantua, of Ferrara, and of Savoy, all united in forming a league, and made an agreement to support each other in fighting against the Venetians with their united forces. The place where this agreement was signed with Cambrai (1508), in the Netherlands, from which circumstance it was called the Treaty of Cambrai.

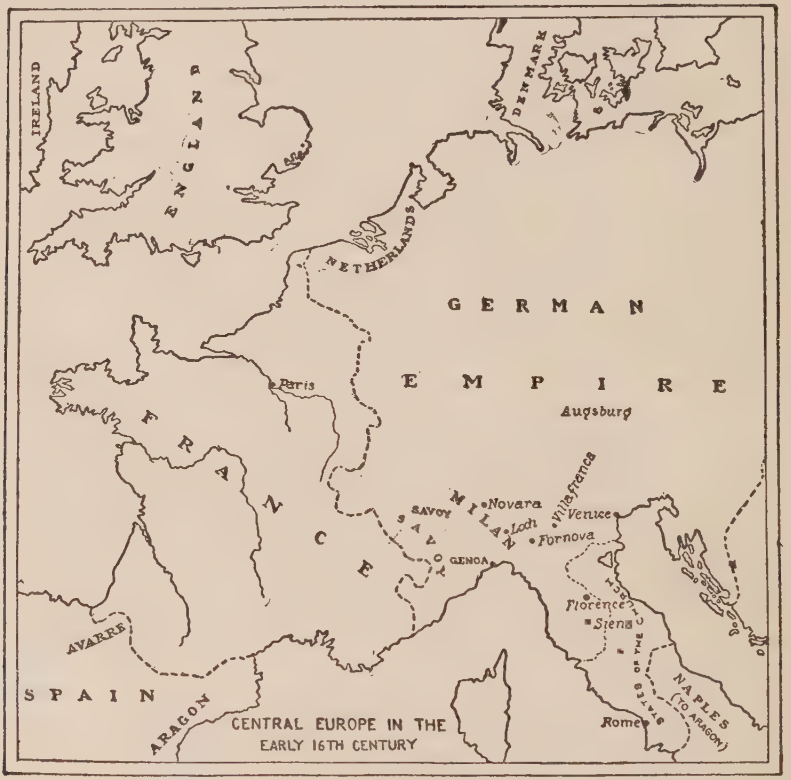
The Venetians, however, were not cast down when they saw themselves assailed by the forces of well-nigh the whole of Europe. Bartholomew Alviano, the general of the republic, discomfited the Germans, and went out to meet the French army led by Louis XII. The two armies met at Agnadello, a village of the Milanese near the River Adda (1509). The battle was sanguinary, but the Venetians were beaten. Several of the Lombard cities accordingly submitted to the French, and the cities of the Romagna opened their gates to their former master, the Pope, while Apulia gave itself up to the Spanish.

The French, abusing their victory, instead of relieving the Italians, only became their oppressors, robbing, killing, and sacking their houses. The Pope, having recovered his lands, feeling, too, that the French were getting too strong, detached himself from the league of Cambrai, and in conjunction with the King of Spain and some other Italian princes joined with the Venetians in the so-called Holy League (1511) against the French, who had become the common enemies of all. After various partial attacks, they came to a pitched battle near the gates of Ravenna. The French, after having suffered other losses, together with that of their general, Gaston de Fois, finally gained indeed the victory, but without reaping any real advantage; whereas the Duke of Milan, Maximilian Sforza, son of Ludovico il Moro, aided by 20,000 Swiss, drove the French entirely out of Lombardy. In the meantime, the French having received new reinforcements, and the Venetians new allies, the Duke of Milan and his Swiss troops were obliged to shut themselves up in Novara, where they were closely besieged.

The Swiss were mercenaries, and fought for whoever would give them the best pay; but they were courageous, and performed prodigies of valor when they found themselves in face of the enemy. Seeing themselves thus besieged, a small detachment parted at midnight without horses or cannon, and marched silently up to the batteries of the enemy. These batteries were guarded by German soldiers, who had been enrolled into the French army. In the dead of the night the Swiss made a furious onslaught upon them, which was as furiously resisted. But in the end the Swiss made themselves masters of the artillery, and turned the fire against the French and Germans themselves, who fled in confusion across the Alps. In this way Novara was liberated, and Lombardy was again brought under the power of Maximilian Sforza in 1513.

But the French could not rest contentedly under this discomfiture, and the successor of Louis XII., named Francis I., a bold and chivalric man, prepared a new army to recover Lombardy. On arriving, however, at the Alps, he found the most important passes all occupied by the Swiss, who boasted that they would perform great things against the French invaders. Then Giovanni Trivulzio, a Milanese, who had served a long time in France and was well acquainted with the Alps, opened for them a passage by Mount Argentera, and descending by the valley of Stura, they arrived at Cuneo and Saluzzo, while the Swiss were guarding all the passes that led to Susa.

Prospero Colonna, general of the Duke of Milan, was encamped quite unsuspiciously at Villafranca, near Saluzzo, and being surprised there by Trivulzio, was made prisoner together with his whole army. The allies then fell back upon Milan, and the king following in their rear, planted his camp near a village called Marignano, on the road to Lodi.



CENTRAL EUROPE IN THE EARLY 16TH CENTURY

Then the allies, thinking all delay dangerous, sallied forth from Milan and assailed the enemy. This unexpected assault gave the signal for a terrible conflict. For two whole days the fight was kept up on either side, and the night alone gave the armies some instants of repose. The battle of Marignano has been called a battle of giants, from the incredible efforts made by the two armies, which seemed to be so superior to the valor of ordinary men that the bravest French cavaliers, who had fought before at Agnadello, Ravenna, and Novara, declared that they had never seen the like before (1515).

This victory, which remained at last with the French, cost the lives of 15,000 Swiss, and the relics of their army took refuge among the mountains, without the conquerors having the spirit to follow them, so exhausted were they by the fight. Some days after this splendid victory, which brought the Milanese under the power of France, Maximilian Sforza, finding it impossible to make head against the enemy, consented to evacuate the citadel of Milan, and gave himself up to the King of France. Francis, using his captive worthily, permitted him to retire to France, where he allowed him to enjoy liberty and an honorable rank as long as he lived.

The battle of Marignano, justly celebrated for the valor shown by the French and the allies, was the last combat to which the league of Cambrai gave rise. A treaty of peace concluded between Francis I. and Charles, successor of Ferdinand of Spain, and acceded to by the emperor in a small town of France called Noyon, put an end to the numberless calamities which the disagreement between the Pope and the Venetians had brought upon Italy for above eight years. This long and sanguinary strife produced in the end no other effect than that of giving over the Milanese for a brief time to the King of France, and restoring to the See of Rome the cities which had been wrested from it and the restoration of the Medici to Florence, which had a very important effect on Italian history. The kingdom of Naples still remained in the hands of the King of Spain; and Venice, whose prosperity and ambition had aroused the jealousy of so many sovereigns, continued to be one of the richest and most commercial republics in Europe. By means of its multitude of ships, of its rich arsenal, and its commercial activity, it was still enabled to import the productions of the East, and above all, its spices, and distribute them throughout the cities of Italy, Germany, and France. But already the discoveries by the Portuguese of the route to India by the Cape of Good Hope had dealt an irreparable blow to the commerce of Venice. The Mediterranean ceased to be the center of trade, which now became oceanic.

Chapter XXXVIII

THE GOLDEN AGE OF LEO X. 1513-1521

SEEING that Italy had now become the scene of so many wars and such great disasters, one would naturally suppose that this beautiful country must again have fallen into barbarism similar to that which overwhelmed all Europe after the fall of the Roman Empire. Julius II. did not foresee that his successor on the papal throne would be a Medici, but on his death Giovanni de' Medici, a cardinal, only thirty-eight years old, was elected Pope as Leo X. (1513). He was pleasure-loving and represented the more superficial side of the Renaissance, but was a lover of magnificence and "dallied with literature and art." He was the son of Lorenzo the Magnificent. As he was a lover of learning, he encouraged artists and literary men with great liberality. A great number of famous men now arose, who rendered Italy illustrious by the fruits of their genius, and by those immortal works of art which to the present day excite our deepest admiration. This is the culmination of the Renaissance. It will be interesting accordingly to relate the life of some of the most celebrated personages who flourished in the age of Leo X., and we will commence with a mathematician of Brescia named Tartaglia—the same man who has been so often introduced upon the stage in Italy.

Young Tartaglia became as he grew up a studious and profoundly learned man—the first man in Italy who, applying geometry to mechanics, revived these valuable sciences, which had so long languished throughout Europe, and which might have been lost had not the orphan of Brescia given new luster to them by his application and genius.

Another man who reached the height of his fame at this time was Michael Angelo Buonarotti. He was born at Caprese, a village in Tuscany, of poor parents, who instructed their children in the art of working in silk and wool. Observing in Michael Angelo a particular aptitude for study, he was sent to school. Following this bent, he spent a great deal of time in sketching on paper figures of men, animals, and houses. His father at length, willing to encourage the genius of his son, resólved to send him to Florence to study painting under a master called Ghirlandaio, the most celebrated artist of the day. The scholar made such progess that the master himself was astonished. One day, Ghirlandaio being absent, Michael Angelo drew after nature the scaffolding upon which the painters stand to work, with the stools and instruments of art all complete. The master on his return, seeing the sketch, was astounded at the perfect imitation, and said, "This lad cannot learn much more from me!"

The first work which brought Michael Angelo into notice was a painting which represented the devil tempting St. Anthony. A little time after he was employed to copy a head from an old master, and Michael Angelo managed to copy it so exactly that he in a joke returned the copy to the owner as though it had been the original, and no one was aware of the deception. The great ability and extraordinary genius of Michael Angelo were soon spoken of in all parts of Italy, and at the age of only fifteen Lorenzo the Magnificent received him into his house, providing for him as though he had been his own son.

About this time the predecessor of Pope Leo, Julius II., desiring to make Rome the finest city in the world, as it was already the most celebrated, determined to raise a structure of surpassing grandeur. For this purpose he invited a celebrated Florentine architect to Rome, called Bramante, and gave him the order to build near the Vatican, a basilica of such magnificence that it should be considered the vastest and grandest monument in the world.

While Bramante was executing the orders of the Pope, and directing the works at the Vatican, it became evident that his advanced age would never give him time to terminate the undertaking, and he therefore begged the Pope to invite Buonarotti to Rome. As the Pope was disposed to value very highly the great merit of the youth, he instructed him to commence a mausoleum for himself; and at the same time Michael Angelo set about painting several pictures on the walls of the papal chapel, since termed the Sistine Chapel, from the name of Pope Sixtus, by whom it was erected. He ornamented also the grand roof of the chapel with pictures taken from the Bible, and made a bronze statue of the Pope, in pontifical dress, which Julius II. presented to the city of Bologna, of which he was a native.

While Bramante and his companion, Buonarotti, were carrying on their works at Rome, another artist, a man endowed with extraordinary genius, named Leonardo da Vinci, was flourishing at Milan. Leonardo da Vinci (so called because born at the castle of Vinci in Tuscany) was a poet, a painter, a geometrician, a mechanician, and a musician; at the same time, he was skillful in all bodily exercises, was able to tame the wildest horses, and could make marble statues as well as paint pictures in the liveliest colors. On account of these rare endowments Leonardo da Vinci was sought for by all the princes of Italy. Julius II. had no rest until he had induced him to come to Rome to employ his genius in embellishing the Vatican, which Bramante was then engaged in repairing. He continued his labors at Rome throughout nearly the whole pontificate of Leo X.; but some differences having arisen between him and Buonarotti, he left Rome and went to France, where he knew that the king held him in great esteem. On his arrival in Paris he was honorably received by the sovereign, Francis I., and lived there to an honored old age. He died at the age of sixty-seven, with the renown of being the first to make the marvelous products of Italian genius known and honored by the French.

When Buonarotti had finished the paintings in the Vatican palace, he gave his whole mind to the construction of the Roman basilica. The Emperor Constantine had as early as the year 324 raised a church in Rome in honor of the chief of the apostles. When this church was falling into ruins, Pope Nicholas V., about the middle of the fifteenth century, had it demolished and began to build another. On his death, Julius II. (about the beginning of the sixteenth century) conceived the idea of a grander structure, and appointed Bramante to carry it out. The works progressed under the pontificate of Leo X.; but under Paul III., Buonarotti changed in great part the design, and formed the conception of that immense and lofty cupola of St. Peter's which is now held in such universal admiration. This grand basilica, being of such vast proportions, so rich in marble work, paintings, statues, and monuments, executed in every variety of style, required more than two centuries to bring it to a full completion. It engaged the zeal of several Popes, and employed many architects, the first of whom were Bramante and Buonarotti; it engaged also the services of many painters and sculptors, so that it may truly be called the greatest temple in all Christendom.

Among the celebrated men patronized by Leo X., we must mention Raphael Sanctius (Rafaele Sanzio), a native of Urbino, in the territory of Rome. While yet a youth he obtained the reputation of being one of the first artists of his age, and was therefore invited by the Pope to adorn the galleries which surround the court of the Vatican palace, called the court of St. Damaso. Raphael designed on paper more than one hundred scriptural subjects, and then by the aid of some of his best scholars he executed them as frescoes on the walls, thus producing works of art which are visited to the present day with admiration. Among the pictures painted by Raphael, the last and the most celebrated is the Transfiguration. This picture, considered to be the finest in the world, was taken with many others by the French in 1797 and transported to Paris, but was restored to Rome after the year 1814.

The Pope, who often went to visit him during his illness, ordered that the magnificent picture of the Transfiguration should be placed opposite the bed on which he was laid out. His death was bewailed as a public calamity.

But these were not the only great men who rendered the pontificate of Leo X. glorious. Cardinals Bembo and Sadoleto labored successfully for the restoration of letters in the sixteenth century, and it was just about the same age that Tommaso, Gaetano, and Lorenzo Campeggi flourished, all illustrious scholars in ecclesiastical lore. But erudition now was too often merely a servile imitation; form became all important, the underlying idea of secondary consequence, and the same thing became more and more the rule in all the arts. The great favor with which Leo received artists, and the care with which he promoted the arts and sciences, rendered this period memorable as the Age of Leo X.

It was at this period also that the revolt of Luther occurred in Germany. Leo, like some of his predecessors on the papal throne, desirous of raising money for artistic and for pious purposes at home, had allowed the sale of indulgences throughout all the Catholic world. By these indulgences there was offered in the case of those who contributed a remission of the whole or a part of the temporal punishment due to sin. Martin Luther, scandalized by the whole system of procedure, which he believed was encouraging vice in its worst forms, preached and wrote violently against it, and maintained on the words of Scripture that God alone could forgive sins. When summoned to a council of doctors at Augsburg by

Cardinal Cajetan, he refused to recant what were termed his errors, and returned home resolute to proclaim a still more comprehensive war against the papacy. When summoned again to a general council at Worms, he maintained his position with unshrinking firmness, and was proclaimed an obstinate heretic, who was to be delivered over to Satan and burned. But Luther had now obtained the support of the Elector of Saxony and other German princes, and set the Pope with all his emissaries at defiance.

Leo X. died in 1521. The Senate and the people of Rome, grateful for the benefits they had received at his hands, raised a statue to his memory on the Capitol, and another in the temple of Minerva. All the friends of literature and art, as well as his own subjects, bewailed his death, regarding him, as we also do to the present day, as the greatest patron of learning who has ever occupied the papal throne.

Chapter XXXIX

THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN CHARLES V. AND FRANCIS I. THE PEACE OF CATEAU-CAMBRÉSIS. 1519-1559

AT the death of the Emperor Maximilian I., the Diet of Frankfort was assembled and chose a new monarch, in 1519. The choice fell upon a king, grandson of Ferdinand the Catholic and of the Emperor Maximilian, who was already in possession of Spain, Naples, Sicily, the Netherlands, and of all America as far as then discovered. On receiving the imperial crown he took the name of Charles V. By this act of the diet, Charles now became possessor of Germany as well. It was owing to the ability of this monarch that the Spanish arms rose to the highest pitch of renown, making themselves formidable (over and above the subjugation of America) to the whole of Europe, as we shall presently see.

Now it is necessary to be noted that Charles V. had a rival in Francis I., King of France, who as well as himself had coveted the imperial crown. This sovereign had a passion for great enterprises, and had already carried on wars in which many of his generals had distinguished themselves. Under the reign of this king, France began to cultivate a taste for the arts and sciences; but it was also under his reign that the doctrines of Calvin began to be disseminated through his states—a fact which led to many important events in the future history of that country.

When, therefore, Francis received notice that Charles had been preferred to him, he was so indignant that he determined to stir up a war. Terrible preparations were made on both sides, and Italy was to be the theater of this bloody rivalship. The first encounter of the French with the Imperialists took place near a castle called Bicocca in 1522, a place near Novara, and fatally celebrated for the battle fought between the Piedmontese and Austrians in later times. There a conflict now ensued, in which the French, overcome by numbers, were worsted and compelled to abandon Italy. After this event Charles gave the dukedom of Milan to

Francisco Sforza, brother of Maximilian, of whom we have already spoken as having been a prisoner in the hands of the French.

These, then, were the first trials of war between Charles V. and Francis I. They had not yet met each other personally in battle; but now the King of France, enraged by the disaster of Bicocca, resolved himself to conduct a numerous army into Lombardy in order to drive the Imperialists out of the dukedom of Milan. The French monarch, at the head of the most brave and skillful captains of the country, had already come to the passage of the Alps, when he discovered that Charles, Duke of Bourbon, his nearest relation, had entered into a conspiracy against him—Charles was constable of the kingdom, and therefore head of all the forces. This news made the king at first hesitate, and he sent a large detachment of his army over the Alps under the command of General Bonnivet, who soon got into difficulties and had to return to France. Upon this, therefore, Francis determined to conduct a still more numerous army in person across the Alps into Italy.

The Duke of Bourbon, who had feigned illness so as not to have any appointment in the army of invasion, at once roused himself, and managed by a secret route to join the imperial army. Soon after this, Francis arrived at Milan, where he found his army already drawn up under the order of General Bonnivet, and ready for battle. But the king, knowing that a vast quantity of arms and provisions were laid up in Pavia, resolved first to gain possession of them, and went with all his forces to besiege that city. But as Pavia was vigorously defended by the citizens, the imperial army, conducted by a general named Lanoia, and by the Duke of Bourbon, had time to come to their succor. A battle was fought under the walls of Pavia. Prodigies of valor were exhibited, and there was great slaughter on both sides, but victory at last declared itself for the Spanish (1525). "Never since the days of Charles the Great had the idea of an Empire of the West been so nearly realized." Francis, seeing his bravest captains fall around him, threw himself upon the foe and fought desperately, as though determined to lose his life on the field of battle, but at last fell into the hands of his enemies. It is impossible to describe the consternation of France when the loss of the army and the imprisonment of the king came to be known. Francis remained prisoner in Spain for more than a year, and at length obtained his liberty only on condition of his resigning the duchy of Burgundy to Charles, and giving as hostages twelve of the chief lords of France to serve as a pledge for the maintenance of his promise. This was the Peace of Madrid (1526), which Francis immediately declared void on his return to France, being absolved by the Pope.

The battles of Bicocca and of Pavia ought certainly to have humiliated the King of France and the French; but no sooner had Francis recovered his liberty than he burned with the desire of revenge more ardently than ever, and new troubles soon arose both in Germany and in Italy. The Italians formed the League of Cognac in 1526, being joined by Francis I., to oppose the Imperialists and free themselves from their yoke. Up to this time Charles V. had respected the Pope; but Clement VII. had joined the League of Cognac and soon was to suffer the consequences of war.

The Spanish army, now that the French king was taken and all immediate danger at an end, had become relaxed in discipline, and appeared more in the character of those adventurers who, when relieved from care, fall into a thousand disorders, and dishonor the profession of arms by turning warfare into rapine and murder. The Duke of Bourbon, with a crowd of mercenary soldiers, among whom were above 13,000 Germans, marched forward to Rome. Clement was "now in such a condition that he did not know where he was." An eye-witness said Bourbon's passage through the country was marked by every kind of devastation. The cities, the villages, the poorest cottages were sacked, and the unfortunate inhabitants infamously murdered.

Giovanni de' Medici, called the Knight of the Black Orders, attempted to make head against them. He was captain of an army of adventurers, and united to extraordinary strength great courage and military science. He maintained also a severe discipline in his army, which had produced many renowned captains. Giovanni de' Medici now came forward to oppose the Imperialists with all his energy, and gained many advantages over them, but in a wild skirmish he was struck in the thigh and soon after died.

The armed rabble of Bourbon, freed from the watchful opposition of Giovanni de' Medici, now pursued their course without delay, and soon arrived within the papal states. The Pope was taken by surprise, not imagining that a Christian prince would turn his arms against the head of his own religion. But he was terribly undeceived when he saw the Spanish army before the gates of

Rome. On that day the constable dressed himself in white armor, the better to be visible to his own people, and never ceased urging his soldiers to the combat, promising that they should enjoy the sack of that great capital. The confusion which now followed within the walls of Rome is indescribable. The Pope demanded money of all the rich citizens to make the necessary preparations for resistance, but they all, whether through folly or perfidy, refused any supplies for the succor of their country, and that at a moment when they ought to have sacrificed everything for it, even to the last farthing. Still the Pope ordered the gates to be shut, and a grand defense to be made. The Imperialists not being able to enter the city freely, as they wished, assailed the bastions, but were thrown back into the fosses by the Romans. Seeing this, the constable took a ladder, placed it against the wall, and courageously ascended; but being struck by a musket ball, he fell dead to the ground, expiating his perfidy with his life. This circumstance irritated the enemy beyond measure, who rushed from every quarter, and having overcome a most obstinate resistance, scaled the walls, descended into the streets, occupied the city, and gave it over to be sacked (May 6, 1527).

It is wholly impossible to describe the cruel rapacity of the soldiers, the murders and the horrors of that fatal day, and for three months Rome was miserably given a prey to the fury of an unbridled soldiery. Nothing was spared, neither private houses nor churches, by those wretches who had neither country nor religion to bind them. "The Sack of Rome may well be said to close the period of the greatness of Italy. No longer was she to be the leader of the new learning and of art."[1] The Pope himself, after having taken refuge in the castle of St. Angelo, fell into their hands, and promised to pay the sums of money demanded, but as he had no ready money, his imprisonment threatened to be long.

Charles himself, who had returned to Spain, when he was informed of the enormities which had been perpetrated in his name, put on mourning, and feigning to be profoundly afflicted for the indignities which the Pope had suffered, set the Pope at liberty, accepting the papal promise to pay November 26. On December 6 Clement fled from Rome to Orvieto. But Charles was really influenced in his wish to conciliate the Pope only by the discords which were breaking out in different parts of his own dominions, and finally they came to terms. In February, 1530, the Pope crowned Charles Emperor. In 1529, by the Peace of Cambrai, the French had given up all their claims to Italy, and the peninsula now passed under Spanish influence.

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[1] A. H. Johnson, "Europe in the 16th Century," p. 187.

During the long struggle between Charles V. and Francis I., Piedmont suffered greatly. At the beginning of the war it was governed by Philibert II., who maintained peace throughout his dominions. But dying in the flower of his life, aged twenty-four, he was succeeded by Charles III., a most unfortunate prince, who had the sorrow of seeing all his dominions, with the exception of Vercelli and Nice, seized upon and taken out of his hands. In these straits he retired to Nice, which sustained a long siege with admirable courage. Deeds of prowess were performed worthy of being placed by the side of those of the ancient Romans, even the women vying with each other in bravery. Charles III., having lost his wife and eight children, died of grief in the city of Vercelli, in the forty-ninth year of his reign.

Ever since Count Carmagnola got possession of the city of Genoa in the name of the Duke of Milan, Philip Maria Visconti, by whom he had been appointed general, and indeed for more than a hundred years after, Genoa was subjected to many outward vicissitudes, and suffered greatly from internal discords, from foreign wars, and from a frequent change of the princes under whose protection the people placed themselves. At one time they gave their fealty to France, at another to the Germans, and then again to the dukes of Milan. In the long hostilities which were carried on between Charles V. and Francis I., the Genoese, actuated by the hope of protection, gave themselves up to the French, and intrusted the government of the republic to a very able townsman named Andrea Doria. Doria had already faced the gravest dangers, and waged many a war for the good of his country, and had well merited the office of doge. But he was not willing to accept any dignity, and contented himself with the name of first citizen, being always ready to carry out any schemes that might turn to the interest of his country. But now he soon came to see that the French, in place of defending the republic, only oppressed it, and brought it to poverty by excessive imposts. He besought the king, therefore, that as a reward for the long services he had rendered in the war, he would withdraw every foreign soldier, and restore to the city a free government.

Francis rejected this petition, and Doria changing sides, entered into the service of Charles V. Doria accordingly, being now constituted admiral of the emperor's fleet, sailed to Genoa with his ships and raised the whole city against the French, proclaiming it once more a free republic.

During the period of which we have been speaking a great misfortune happened to the city of Florence. It will be remembered that Piero de' Medici was driven out of Florence with all his relations in 1494. After eighteen years of exile the Medici succeeded in being recalled to their country, and reassuming the reins of government. But in 1527 the Florentines again banished the Medici, and formed themselves into a republic, out of which naturally arose new wars and new troubles to the citizens. Charles V., after having reconciled himself with the Pope, dispatched the very same army which had sacked Rome to besiege Florence, in order to force upon the citizens the sovereign whom they had shortly before driven out from the town.

The Florentines were not sufficient in numbers to make head against a disciplined army; still, trusting to the justice of their cause, they determined to resist to the last extremity. But as a government is nothing without a head, they were induced in the present confusion of things to make an election quite unparalleled in history. A man arose in the midst of the crowd, and said that, in order to render the republic invincible, they should proclaim Jesus Christ King of Florence! And, who would believe it? everyone adhered to this strange proposal, and there was immediately inscribed upon the gates of the municipal palace in large characters, "Jesus Christ, King of the Florentines, elected by decree of the people and the Senate!" The Florentines made a heroic resistance, distinguished by the bravery of their leader, Francesco Ferruccio, but the enemy were irresistibly strong and the city finally had to yield.

Ferruccio, in making a sortie, was mortally wounded at Gravignana. It then became necessary for the Florentines to come to terms, and it was agreed with Charles V. that they should recognize the Medici as legitimate sovereigns, and that Alessandro de' Medici should be recognized as Duke of Tuscany, with the right of transmitting the same dignity to his heirs. Alessandro was wholly unworthy of the office to which he was raised; he proved avaricious and cruel, and was at last murdered by one of his own relations in the year 1537. After him Cosmo de' Medici, son of the celebrated John of the Black Band, was created Duke of Florence, and from him originated the long series of dukes of Tuscany, who later on took the name of grand dukes. Liberty was now crushed out at Siena, Lucca, Bologna, and wherever it still existed. The Spaniards controlled everything.

Shortly after the fall of the Republic of Florence that of Siena fell likewise. It had twice driven out the Spaniards with great heroism; and Cosmo, Duke of Florence, had sent 20,000 men to besiege it, but they were courageously repelled. At length, after the death of Strozzi, its gallant defender, Siena was obliged to accept the most humiliating conditions of peace. In 1540, on the death of Sforza, the emperor made his son Philip Duke of Milan.

These events bring us to the year 1559, an epoch rendered important by the many remarkable events which transpired, and which complete the period of sixty-seven years since the discovery of America. During this space of time, art, science, and commerce flourished in Italy, though, as far as political affairs are concerned, the country was rent asunder by the ambitious projects of France and Spain. When Charles V. retired from the empire he ceded Germany to his brother, who was elected emperor under the name of Ferdinand I. He then made over Spain, America, the Low Countries, Burgundy, Sardinia, the two Sicilies, and Milan to his son Philip II., and thus it was that Austria came to be wholly separated from Spain. The King of France, Henry II., always envious of the grandeur of Spain, profited by this separation to bring about a war against the new sovereign, and Flanders became the scene of a sanguinary conflict. After many skirmishes, a pitched battle was fought near St. Quentin, in the Netherlands. The Duke of Savoy, Emmanuel Philibert, commander of the Spanish forces, performed deeds of heroic valor, and succeeded in gaining a complete victory over the French. The statue of this great general is now standing in the Piazza of St. Carlo at Turin. By this victory, accordingly, Philibert recovered Savoy, restored to him in the Peace of Cateau-Cambrésis (1559) between France and Spain. A new period now begins for Italy, which no longer resists servitude, but resigns herself. The spirit of the Renaissance dies out and Italy becomes lethargic.

Philibert, on his return to his own dominions, found them a prey to great disorder; putting aside, therefore, all thoughts of war, he devoted himself entirely to the good of his country. He repaired the fortifications, put on foot a numerous militia, did away with the remains of feudalism, restored the treasury, reorganized the administration of justice, and warmly promoted the arts and sciences. He made Turin the capital of his states, transferring to that city the courts and the Senate, and founding a university for the encouragement of learning.

Chapter XL

THE LAST OF ITALIAN LIBERTY. 1560-1618

NO sooner had the wars in Italy come to an end than the Italians found that along with the loss of political liberty they had also lost all intellectual freedom and the measures taken to prevent heresy served to suppress all literary life. To the humanistic Popes succeeded a series zealous to uphold dogma in all lands still under the sway of Rome. Between the political despotism of the Spaniards and native princes and the diminished zeal of some succeeding Popes, all initiative died out in Italy, which slowly became apathetic. The city of Venice, by reason of the many islands it possessed, could still be considered as Queen of the Seas. But it had lost much of its former splendor, since the Spaniards had become masters of America, and opened up a new field for commerce with those distant countries. The Turks, who had now held Constantinople for more than one hundred years, saw with regret that the Venetians possessed islands and cities in the very midst of their vast empire, and began by demanding of them the island of Cyprus. When this demand was refused, they put on foot an army of 80,000 infantry, 3000 cavalry, and a formidable artillery. With this host of barbarians the Emperor Selim II. besieged Nicosia and Famagosta, the two strongest cities in the island. Nicosia fell after a valorous defense; Famagosta, commanded by an illustrious Venetian named Bragadino, repulsed the Turkish army no less than six times, and destroyed so large a number of men that it had to be continually reinforced.

But as the Turkish fleet prevented the Italians from bringing succor to the besieged, Bragadino soon found himself in the most extreme want both of provisions and of men. The Venetians then sent to the Pope to beg that he would in some way come to their succor, and aid them in humbling the pride of the Ottomans, those most ferocious enemies of Christianity. The Roman pontiff, Pius V., had recourse to the King of Spain, Philip II., and to Duke Emmanuel Philibert. The King of Spain put on foot a large army, and gave the command to his younger brother, Don John of Austria. The Duke of Savoy also willingly agreed to send a select number of soldiers, who, together with the rest of the forces gathered from different parts of Italy, united with the Spanish army near Messina. The soul of the whole undertaking was a Venetian named Sebastiano Veniero, and a noble Roman called Marc Antony Colonna. The latter, in consideration of his great valor, had been appointed Constable of Naples and Viceroy of Sicily. In the present expedition he commanded twelve galleys in the name of the Pope. At the sight of such a vast assembly of warriors, all animated for conflict in a holy cause, everyone conceived that the expedition could only end in marked success. Already the sails were unfurled to proceed to Cyprus, when the sad news arrived that Bragadino had fallen into the hands of the enemy, who against all law and faith had ordered him to be flayed alive. In the midst of these most horrid sufferings Bragadino made no lamentation, but gloried in dying for his religion and his country.

The Turks, elated by this success, now with one accord directed their steps toward Italy, and came into conflict with the Italian fleet near the gulf of Lepanto, in Greece. The Christians, who had 264 vessels of all sizes with 26,000 soldiers, burning to avenge the death of the great Bragadino, and impatient to measure their strength with the enemies of God and man, assaulted the Turks, who had about 300 vessels, with the greatest ferocity, who on their part made a brave resistance. A terrible spectacle ensued. The armies met at close quarters; every vessel seemed to vomit fire as though from a hundred cannons; death revealed itself in every form; the masts and the tackling of the ships, split by the cannon balls, fell upon the combatants; the cries of the wounded mingled with the roaring of the waves and the noise of the cannon (October 7, 1571).

In the midst of this fearful conflict, Veniero, perceiving that confusion began to show itself among the Turkish ships, suddenly prepared a number of small galleys, filled with men most expert in artillery, and, going round the lofty ships of the enemy, poured into them volley after volley. At this critical moment, while the confusion of the enemy was increasing, an eager enthusiasm was excited among the hosts of the Christians, who raised on every side the cry of "Victory! Victory!" On this, the Turkish ships made for land, while the Venetians followed and crushed them. The battle became a slaughter; the sea was covered with garments, with splinters from the ships, with the bodies of the slain. Thirty thousand Turks fell in the conflict, and two hundred of their galleys were left in the hands of the enemy.

The news of this victory brought universal joy into all the countries of Christendom. The Senates of Genoa and Venice decreed that the 7th day of October should be kept in perpetuity as a day of joy and festivity. The pontiff, Pius V., when he heard of the victory achieved, could not refrain from applying to Don Giovanni of Austria the words of the gospel: "There was a man sent from God, and his name was John" (Giovanni).

The next in command after Don John and Veniero was General Colonna, who contributed with his galleys greatly to the glory of the day, and Giovanni Andrea Doria of Genoa.

When the news of the victory of Lepanto came to the ears of Philip II., instead of rejoicing at the glory which accrued to his kingdom, he was only moved by jealousy against his brother, Don John of Austria. The Venetians acted very differently toward Veniero, for out of gratitude for his service they elected him doge in 1576.

We must now turn for a minute to describe the terrible ravages of the disease, termed variously pest, pestilence, contagion, or epidemic, which, after having caused great destruction in various parts of Italy, came to a focus in Milan in the year 1576. The authors of those days speak of the plague of Milan as one of the most horrible calamities of the age. It first showed itself in the hospitals, then commenced to attack weakly persons, and especially those who gave themselves up to excesses in eating or drinking. Finally, it invaded every house without distinction. Lazaretti were established without the city, but these were soon filled to overflowing. It was a lamentable spectacle which everywhere presented itself. It often happened that a party of friends would set themselves at table, and in the middle of dinner several would be struck with plague, changing their festivity into mourning; often when fathers or mothers went to call their children in the morning, they found them dead or dying. Men were seen to fall down here and there in the public streets, and those who ran to give them aid would be struck down themselves at the same instant. Husbandmen were struck down at the plow. Masters who had retired over night in good health were found dead in the morning by the servants, and some were even found dead in their carriages when they had been out for a short drive.

The terrified citizens fled wherever they could, and soon the city and the lazaretti contained only dead and dying, without there being anyone to bring aid, either temporal or spiritual. But Providence, which watches over the destiny of mankind, raised up one who, by his courage, his zeal, and his charity, came to the aid of the suffering—St. Carlo Borromeo.

This extraordinary man had led a pure and innocent life from his infancy. His excellent education, his diligence in study, joined to great discretion, his wisdom and tact in managing great affairs, had raised him to the dignity of a cardinal at the age of twenty-three, and three years later he was consecrated Archbishop of Milan, just before the plague broke out. He had already been exposed to much persecution on the part of the governor of the city, because, wishing to mix himself up with affairs of the church, the bishop opposed him; in short, he was just on the point of leaving his diocese when the pest made its appearance. The governor, though a brave general, was one of the first to abandon Milan, and took no further notice of the archbishop.

Then was seen what a good shepherd of the flock can do for the relief of the wretched. Surrounded by a crowd of unfortunates who besought temporal and spiritual aid, he determined to devote his life for his people, and to enter himself into the houses in order to succor those who were plague-stricken. Accordingly, he made his will, leaving everything he had to the poor. Then he employed all he possessed—gold, silver, household furniture, linen, and even his own garments—for the benefit of the suffering. And when this marvelous charity failed to supply the great need under which the city and the country around were suffering, many of the nobles, urged on by his example, sent him timely succor; and even great ladies were glad to deprive themselves of their diamonds and jewels, in order to send them to the prelate and convert them into alms. Carlo also devoted himself to reforming the churches and the clergy, where reform was greatly needed, as well as the monks and nuns; he also watched carefully over public morals, trying to restrain popular licentiousness. But his efforts, like all those of the period, were merely ecclesiastic and disciplinary. Dogma was strengthened without improving character, the spirit was tamed without elevating the soul. Soon after this, the disease began to abate, and after a while disappeared, having raged for more than eighteen months.

Our history has now brought us down to the pontificate of Gregory XIII., 1572-1585, which has become memorable for the reform of the calendar which then took place. The days of the year were calculated previous to this time by the ordinary Calendar of Julius Cæsar. In this calendar it was reckoned that the sun performed its course in 365 days and 6 hours, consequently every four years an additional day had to be added to the length of the year, and the discrepancy was supposed to be rectified. But more exact observations showed that the above calculation allowed eleven minutes too much to indicate the precise time of the earth's revolution, and this difference of time produced a discrepancy of one day in every 130 years. In the revolution of the ages, accordingly, the fixed periods of the year now came ten days too soon; and Gregory, perceiving the error thus occasioned in the time of the festivals of the church, called together an assembly of the first astronomers of his time at Rome, to consult as to what plan could be best adopted to obviate it. By their advice he decreed that in every four centuries there should be one leap year less, which would exactly make up one day, to counterbalance the yearly accumulation of eleven minutes. To bring the seasons now to their right place, it was agreed that in the year 1582 ten days should be taken out of the month of October. All the princes of Europe except the Emperor of Russia adopted this reform, which has taken the name of the Gregorian Calendar.

To Gregory XIII. succeeded Pope Sixtus V., 1584-1590, a man of humble birth, but who had raised himself by his merits to be considered worthy of the high dignity to which he attained. He succeeded in clearing the Roman states of the robbers which infested them, had water brought into the city from a great distance, raised a lofty obelisk in the Piazza of St. Peter's, and restored the exhausted treasury. He it was who removed the heads of the statues of Trajan and Antonine from their columns to replace them by those of St. Peter and St. Paul, displaying in various other ways a Christian vandalism toward the pagan monuments of Rome. His designs with regard to foreign affairs were still more important. But his death, which occurred in the year 1590, prevented the completion of all these designs.

We must now return to the affairs of Venice. While Europe had been engaged in religious wars, Venice had up to this time remained true to its ancient faith, and thus enjoyed comparative peace in the midst of the religious troubles of the time. It was nearly brought, however, to an open rupture with Rome through the influence of Paolo Sarpi, an ecclesiastic of extraordinary learning and unblemished character. Sarpi had become disgusted with the intrigues of the Roman court, and had opened a correspondence with some of the leading Protestants of the day. When, therefore, the Venetian Senate, chiefly through his instrumentality, was brought into conflict with the Pope, Sarpi prevailed on them not to yield. The Pope, accordingly, issued an excommunication against the doge and Senate, and placed the whole dominion under an interdict. Venice was, in fact, at the very point of following in the wake of England and Germany, and separating itself definitely from the Roman See, when the King of France and the Duke of Savoy intervened, and brought about a reconciliation. Sarpi, however, remained unreconciled, and labored seventeen years longer to bring about a reformation, but at length died without securing this object. No sooner were these religious discords brought to a termination than new disasters arose, caused by a band of assassins named the *Uscocchi*. These brigands lived among the rocks on the shore of the Adriatic in Dalmatia, whence they made terrible incursions against the Venetians, plundering and murdering all they could. When pursued, they took refuge in the Austrian states; and the Duke of Austria, Ferdinand by name, protected them, and even went so far as to proclaim open war against the Venetians on their behalf. The Spaniards also stood by the Austrians in this matter, and the republic had to maintain a homicidal war for three years, until a treaty of peace was at length concluded, by virtue of which the duke pledged himself to remove these terrible bands of brigands to more distant quarters.

While the facts above related were transpiring a more serious circumstance arose which threatened the fortune of Venice still more gravely. The Viceroy of Naples and the Governor of Milan, jealous of the continued prosperity of the republic and anxious to win credit for themselves with the Spanish king, their master, entered into a plot, by means of their ambassadors, against Venice, which, though doubtless exaggerated in the account long accepted of St. Real, nevertheless constituted a grave menace to the independence of Venice. At the time we are now treating of, the ambassador of Philip III., King of Spain, in Venice, was the Marquis of Bedmar, a crafty and unprincipled man. The Governor of Milan and the Viceroy of Naples agreed with the said Bedmar in the eager desire to humiliate Venice, and bring it into subjection to the Spanish crown. And inasmuch as the Republic possessed a vast number of well-armed ships, Bedmar resolved to execute his design without the King of Spain appearing to have any knowledge of it, and by the use of measures as secret as they were dangerous, relying on a Frenchman, Renault, as his agent. They proposed to set the city on fire, to kill the senators and the Council of Ten, who were at the head of the government, and to deluge the shores of the Adriatic with blood. In the meantime, aided by the darkness of the night and the tumult occasioned by some Spanish soldiers whom the ambassador was to introduce in disguise, they hoped to make themselves masters of the palace of the doge and the arsenal, while the other conspirators, who served in the Venetian fleet, and whom Renault had suborned, would kill the captains with their daggers and force the sailors to set fire to the ships.

Everything was ready and the night fixed in which the plot was to be put into execution. Renault had arranged all the plans with so much mystery and so great art that the most zealous agents of police had not the least suspicion of it. The day preceding that fatal night, Renault, the better to strengthen his men in their resolutions, assembled the heads in a house apart, in order to assign to everyone the post he was to take at the decisive moment. One should force the gates of the doge's palace, another should distribute arms to the prisoners, a third should set fire to the arsenal so as to throw terror over the city, while a number should suddenly assail the senators, the Council of Ten, and the inquisitors in their respective palaces, and slay the nobles before they knew by whose hand they had perished. While this was going on others were to be sent into the most populous quarters of the city to excite the mob to plunder, and thus augment the confusion by all possible means.

But among the conspirators whom Renault believed to be equally faithful and devoted was a Frenchman named Giafieri, who resolved to go to the Council of Ten and reveal the danger which hung over the city. He only wished to stipulate that his betrayal should not involve his own friends in ruin, and extorted the promise before revealing his secret that the lives of twenty persons, whom he should select, should be spared, however culpable they might be. The magistrates agreed to the whole, but no sooner was the plot made known than they put Giafieri in prison and sent to arrest Renault and his accomplices before they should have any suspicion of being discovered.

Some of the conspirators, however, were warned in time, and escaped by throwing themselves into the fishermen's boats; Renault, however, would not take to flight, but gave himself up into the hands of the men who came to seize him. At the same time all suspected foreigners who were concealed in various parts of the city were disarmed, imprisoned, and at once strangled, drowned, or beheaded. Renault, the promoter of the whole scheme, was strangled in prison, and his body hung up before the palace of the doge to strike terror into all the rest.

Giafieri, seeing his companions put to death before his own eyes, refused to receive any recompense, and went and united himself with the other conspirators, fighting at their head until he was struck down in the conflict.

Bedmar, the real author of the rebellion, protected by his dignity of ambassador, was thus able to leave the city freely and return to his own country in 1618. Thus was Venice liberated from three misfortunes—the interdict of the Pope, the scourge of the Uscocchi, and above all from the plot of Bedmar, by which the city was exposed to a greater danger than had ever happened since the signing of the Treaty of Cambrai (1508). Hereafter we find scarcely any material or moral prosperity to console Italy for its loss of freedom and for its sterile agitations. Venice ceased to be even the Queen of the Adriatic, and except for occasional gleams of better things at Florence, the peninsula presents a sad spectacle.

Chapter XLI

CHARLES EMMANUEL THE GREAT AND SOME MEN OF THE AGE. 1580-1700

DUKE EMMANUEL PHILIBERT, hero of St. Quentin, was succeeded by his son, named Charles Emmanuel, surnamed the Great, in consequence of the length of his reign (which lasted fifty years), and of the great things which he achieved, both in peace and in war. He was only seventeen years old when he began to reign, but fortunately he had good ministers and advisers, whose sagacity and prudence contributed greatly to the success of his enterprises (1580-1630).

He had first to wage a long and bloody war with the French. These had a few years before made themselves masters of the marquisate of Saluzzo, and now that France was agitated by the impending war with the Huguenots, he thought it a good opportunity to regain that part of his dominions of which his father had been despoiled. The King of France (Henry III.) would not respond to the just demands of the duke, who accordingly determined to gain by arms what he could not gain by treaty. A long and sanguinary war ensued, which ended by leaving Charles Emmanuel in tranquil possession of Saluzzo. This was arranged in a treaty concluded at Paris in the year 1601, by which the duke yielded some portion of his territory on the other side of the Alps. This treaty was very advantageous to the house of Savoy; and the general of the King of France, called Ladighera, is said to have remarked that the King of France had treated like a merchant, while the Duke of Savoy had done so like a sovereign. The reason was that the territory of Saluzzo, besides being extremely fertile, commanded also the passage over the Alps by which the French had been accustomed to pass into Italy. When these wars were over Charles Emmanuel began to be involved in other kinds of difficulties with the Waldenses. These were followers of Peter Waldo, a merchant of Lyons, who, leaving his commercial affairs, began to advocate zealously the doctrines of the Reformation. Being driven out of Lyons, the Waldenses went to establish themselves in the valley of Luserna, near Pinerolo. Here they were lost sight of for some time, and had leisure to build places of worship for themselves, the first of which was erected in the valley of Angrogna.

But in process of time, when the numbers of the sect increased, they began to be subjected to cruel persecutions, so that they were forced to take up arms in self-defense. Duke Emmanuel Philibert had before sent an army to put them down, and had caused much bloodshed, and now Charles Emmanuel also appealed to force, and endeavored to drive them away from his states. By the decree of 1602, however, he at length defined the limits of their abode, and forbade them under heavy penalties to pass beyond.

These affairs being now settled, Charles began to wage war in foreign countries. He fought first as an ally of the King of France, then of the King of Spain, and signalized himself in each case by his valor and feats of arms. He next planned to take Lombardy from the Spaniards, and for this purpose joined Henry IV., King of France. But just as the armies were about to march, Henry was murdered, whereupon Venice interposed between the two hostile powers, and peace was concluded.

Francesco Gonzaga, Duke of Mantua and Montferrat, having lately died, the Duke of Savoy laid claim to the latter province by virtue of blood affinity, but after two years of useless negotiations the duke made open war to effect his purpose, and before his rivals had time to raise any opposition he made himself master of the territory of Montferrat, with exception of Casale and Ponte-Stura. The King of Spain, who wished to be considered the arbiter in Italy, because he possessed so many of the provinces, laid claim to Montferrat. The Spaniards, thinking the matter of little importance, entered with light heart into the contest with the Duke of Savoy; but when they saw their soldiers put to flight and fall in great numbers on the field of battle, they knew that they had to do with a most formidable rival. They got together, accordingly, so large a force of infantry and cavalry that it seemed as though the whole of Spain was going to precipitate itself upon Montferrat. But Charles Emmanuel, who had so often led his soldiers to victory in foreign countries, did not shrink for a moment from maintaining his own cause in this particular instance. Five battles were fought, in each of which the duke came off victorious, and after having almost entirely destroyed the Spanish army, he united Montferrat definitely to Piedmont. These glorious victories of the Duke of Savoy excited envy in the minds of the French under Richelieu, who accordingly determined to try the fortune of battle with the purpose of conquering Montferrat. They marched with a numerous army to attack the duke just at the moment when he thought he had concluded with them a permanent peace, and being thus taken unawares, was forced to retire from Montferrat. A battle was fought at Rivoli, in which he was again worsted. It is highly probable that the duke would have repaired his losses if a terrible pestilence had not just then broken out, which ravaged both France and Italy. The duke himself was at length struck down by the disease, and died at Savigliano in the year 1630. He died, leaving his duchy a prey to pestilence and war, but also consoled with the thought of having given his life to defend his states, and with the glory of having ever labored for the benefit of his subjects. He was accustomed to say, "The brightest prerogatives of a prince are to give and to forgive."

Victor Amadeus now succeeded to the duchy. In the midst of so many evils, caused by pestilence and war, a truce was necessary, so that the people might recover their strength, resume the cultivation of their fields, and replenish their treasury. For this purpose the French, the Spanish, and the principal Italian princes held an assembly in Cherasco, and concluded a treaty by virtue of which Italy was enabled to breathe again, and provide for its own safety.

Victor Amadeus having now brought the internal affairs of his country into order, was urged by Richelieu to form an alliance with France. These two powers in unison then made war upon Spain, and a sanguinary battle was fought on the borders of Montferrat in which the victory declared for the allies. But soon after the battle Victor Amadeus died.

In the midst of the wars and the pestilence which afflicted Piedmont and the other provinces of Italy, several illustrious persons flourished, who attained a high degree of renown in science, letters, and art. We must first mention an illustrious poet named Ariosto, born in the city of Reggio. From a child Ariosto was studious, and showed at an early age a remarkable poetical talent. Having cultivated this talent by the study of the ancient authors, he composed a poem entitled "*Orlando Furioso,*" which is held in high esteem to the present day. He was born in 1474 and died in the year 1532.

Another illustrious poet was Torquato Tasso, celebrated for his poem entitled "*Gerusalemme Liberata,*" in which he portrays the acts of courage and prowess shown by the crusaders in their efforts to take the Holy City. He was endowed with a lofty genius, but had one great defect of character, that of not being able to restrain his outbursts of anger. In consequence of this he was once thrown into prison, where he had to remain many years, until the Pope, having heard of his misfortune, persuaded the Duke of Ferrara to set him at liberty.

The literati and many of the princes of Italy then voted him a crown of honor, as had been done in the case of Petrarch. For this purpose he was invited to Rome, and was there received by the Pope with great solemnity. Everything was prepared for this great ceremony, but Providence ordered it otherwise. Feeling himself grievously ill, he begged to be taken to the monastery of St. Onofrius, where he expired peaceably at the age of fifty-one years, and on the very eve of his destined triumph. Richly clothed, and his hair decked with laurels, he was carried in solemn pomp through the streets of Rome to the sepulcher.

Another man who will always cast a halo of glory over Italy was Galileo Galilei. He was a native of Pisa (born in 1564), and studied music, painting, science, letters, and more especially physics, with great success. Ferdinand I., Grand Duke of Tuscany, was at that time a great promoter of science and literature. The government of the grand dukes was for the most part mild. Abstaining from all interference with their neighbors, they managed to secure for Tuscany all the benefits of peace. They more especially promoted the cultivation of science, and the very progress which Galileo made in scientific discovery was in great part owing to the generosity of these princes. He was nominated by Ferdinand I. professor in the university of Pisa at the age of twenty-six years.

As Galileo was one day standing in the cathedral and observing the oscillation of a lamp suspended there, he perceived that it oscillated backward and forward through a considerable space, then after a time through a less space, and finally through a very small space; but in every instance the lamp performed its oscillations in exactly the same duration of time. Returning home, he made the same experiment with a string and a piece of lead, constructed in the form of a pendulum. On making it oscillate, he again found that the varied movements were always completed in equal spaces of time. From this circumstance Galileo concluded that the pendulum would prove a valuable instrument to append to a clock in order to regulate the motion of the wheels, and give to give them a regular and invariable movement.

He next went as professor of philosophy to Padua, where he invented the telescope. With this instrument he began to make observations on the moon, and was the first to see that the spots which we see with our naked eye on the lunar disc are no other than valleys and mountains, of which he could even measure the magnitude. He discovered also many stars, hitherto unknown, and was the first to declare that the Milky Way is a space studded with stars at an enormous distance from the earth. The fame of Galileo's genius was so widely extended that the grand duke and the Florentines desired him to return to his own country. This he accordingly did, and the grand duke assigned him five thousand francs a year, with full leisure to pursue his studies. Galileo, like Tasso, was a man of irascible temper, but knew better how to bridle his tongue. He was both religious and charitable, and delighted in instructing young men if only they would devote themselves to study. He often assisted poor scholars, so that they might pursue their course of learning, and was on their part regarded as a father and a benefactor.

The most remarkable event in the life of Galileo was the publication of a book on the motion of the earth. He showed that the sun did not move round the earth, as was then generally supposed, but that the earth moved round its own axis every twenty-four hours, and completed its full revolution round the sun in a year. This theory had been brought forward by Copernicus one hundred years before, but was not yet fully established. But Galileo had now such abundant evidence in his hands that he felt justified in affirming that this was the thought and design of the Creator in framing the whole solar system. The Pope, Paul V., was scandalized at a philosopher pronouncing such an idea, and bringing it forward as a dogma that challenged every man's belief. Galileo, on the other hand, insisted that the church should acknowledge a truth now established with scientific certitude.

In 1633 he was summoned to Rome to appear before the

Inquisition, which condemned him, on his refusing to recant, to perpetual imprisonment, a sentence somewhat softened owing to the intervention of the Grand Duke of Tuscany. Galileo made a kind of formal recantation to save himself from the pains which would otherwise have been inflicted on him, but according to a not wholly authentic tradition he could not help saying as he left the tribunal, *E pure si muove* ("The earth does move, though, after all"). He made many other discoveries, and died in his seventy-eighth year, with the repute of being a wise man and a good Christian.

After the Peace of Cateau-Cambrésis, and still more after the Treaty of Cherasco, the Spaniards remained masters of many of the Italian states. Lombardy, Sicily, Sardinia, Naples, were all governed by a viceroy of the King of Spain. As Spain at that time figured as one of the first powers in Europe, we may say that what with its own dominions in Italy, and what with the influence it exerted upon the other states, Italy had almost become Spanish; and, in fact, many Spanish customs still exist in Italy which have come down from that epoch. For one hundred and forty years, *i. e.,* from 1560 to 1700, Italy suffered greatly under the dominion of these foreign rulers. The King of Spain, indeed, sent able men to govern the Italian provinces, but they were for the most part only intent on widening their dominion and acquiring riches to send to Spain. Among these we may especially mention Leganez, Governor of Milan. He took a great part in the wars which agitated Piedmont from 1630 to 1644, for he had been sent with a large army to Montferrat to conquer these countries for his sovereign, and had closely besieged the city of Casale.

This latter city belonged to Charles Emmanuel II., Duke of Savoy, whose states were governed during his minority by his mother, Maria Christina. This princess had the grief of seeing her own brothers-in-law make alliance with the Spanish; and when she found herself unable to resist them, she made a treaty with the King of France, by virtue of which she ceded to him Cherasco, Savigliano, and Carmagnola. From this circumstance her brothers-in-law took occasion to excite the people to rebel against her authority, and she was forced to take flight from Turin.

The King of France sent a famous general named Artour with troops to assist the Piedmontese. The two captains made first trial of their valor under the walls of Casale, where the Spanish suffered a terrible defeat. After the battle of Casale, Leganez got the remains of his army together, and, making a fresh levy, went to besiege Turin (1640). But after many fruitless efforts to make himself master of the capital, he gave up the hope of conquering Piedmont and retired with his army to Milan. The duchess upon this returned to Turin and got back many of the cities which had been wrested from her hands. On her regency coming to a termination she consigned the reigns of government into the hands of her son, Charles Emmanuel II.

This prince's first effort was to allay a rebellion which the Waldenses had excited against him, and then soon after he had to carry on war for a time against the Genoese. After this he enjoyed perfect peace during the whole of his reign, and devoted himself to the prosperity of his people, reorganizing the army, constructing roads, and completing many magnificent works.

The condition of Piedmont was bad enough while the country was occupied by French or Spanish armies, but the situation of Naples and Sicily was still worse, in consequence of the greed of the viceroys and their eagerness to send money into Spain. The sums wrested from the kingdom of Naples alone amounted in a few years to over 500,000,000 of francs. To accumulate these sums, heavy imposts were indispensable. Houses, fields, furniture, persons, animals of every kind, and all comestibles were so weighed down with taxes that well-nigh the whole produce of the land came into the hands of the tax-gatherers. In those times many families, not being able to procure for themselves the necessaries of life, left their native country to seek hospitality on a foreign shore. Thus the population of Naples was reduced so that many tracts of country remained uncultivated for want of hands, and commerce was deprived of all enterprise. The discontent became universal, and it only needed a head for an open rebellion to break out.

A certain Alexis of Palermo, a goldbeater by profession, attempted to throw off the heavy yoke, and had got the people and the nobles to proclaim him first captain and King of Sicily. But he was surprised by the Spanish, and executed along with his accomplices. Uproars took place in Naples which could not be so easily appeased, and which drew after them fatal consequences. The Viceroy of Naples, Count Arcos, nominated viceroy in 1646, a most avaricious man, not knowing what other tax to levy, laid a particular duty upon fruit, which is there the chief food of the poor people. A certain Thomas Aniello of Amalfi, commonly called Masaniello,[1] a fisherman, not being able to live by his trade, had come to establish himself as a fruit seller in Naples. He and all his companions of the piazza remained thunderstruck at the new imposts. Discontent increased more and more in consequence of the rigor and the villainous methods with which the tax-gatherers made their exactions. On Sunday morning, July 7, 1647, a tumult arose in the piazza, and this was the spark which lighted up the fire of rebellion. Cries resounded from every side, and men and women, old and young, all gathered around Masaniello. He was a handsome young fellow,—brave, moreover,—and so strong that he could knock down the most powerful man with his fist. The tax-gatherers ran to put down the tumult, but were received with blows and forced to retire. A company of soldiers was then called up, but too late, because the number of the insurgents had become enormous, and on every side they proclaimed Masaniello their leader, and having driven off the soldiers, now took possession of the whole city. This Masaniello was without learning or any knowledge either of warfare or government; yet by his probity, his disinterestedness, and his desire to behave well toward all, he was led to act the part of a chief, and to manage with marvelous tact the most weighty affairs.

The viceroy attempted to put down Masaniello by force, but seeing every effort to be useless, he thought it best to come to an agreement with him. Constituting him captain-general of Naples, he promised the abolition of all the imposts, offered him a rich collar of gold and a handsome pension. Masaniello, distrusting the good faith of the viceroy, refused all these offers, and continued to maintain his place as defender of the people; but in consequence of the honors done to him by the king, who to a certain degree yielded to his will, and of the universal applause of the people, he was so elated with pride that he forgot his natural modesty, and in place of continuing to be the benefactor of his country, he at once opposed the king and despised his former companions. All this rendered him hateful in the eyes of all true patriots, and some of the most daring, urged on by the promise of a rich reward on the part of the viceroy, stabbed him with their poniards.

Upon this Naples fell into general confusion, some taking part with the king, some with Masaniello. The citizens no longer knew

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[1] See J. Zeller, "*Les Tribuns et les Révolutions en Italie,*" Paris, 1874, chapter on "Masaniello."

JOHN MILTON VISITS THE AGED GALILEO AT HIS VILLA NEAR FLORENCE IN THE YEAR 1638

Painting by T. Lessi

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whom to obey, and in the midst of the turmoil a republic was proclaimed. Meantime several other leaders of the people sought to take the place of Masaniello, until some malcontents called in the assistance of the Duke of Guise, a celebrated French captain, descendant of Charles of Anjou, sent by Cardinal Mazarin to embarrass Spain. He soon made his appearance, and was already virtually master of the city, when a powerful Spanish army arrived, which entered Naples and took complete possession of it. Many of the citizens, abhorring a foreign yoke, obstinately refused to submit, and were either put to death or driven into banishment. Thus the rebellion of Masaniello in the end produced nothing but bloodshed, tyranny, death, and exile.

In the midst of all these events Genoa was subjected to a grievous misfortune. The King of France, Louis XIV., vexed that this republic should show greater friendship to Spain than to himself, sent a general named Duquesne at the head of a large fleet to order four of their galleys, lately put to sea, to be disarmed. The Genoese would not respond to this demand, and the hostile fleet commenced a bombardment which lasted several days without intermission. After they had thus reduced the city well-nigh to ruins, it was obliged to give in, and accept the rule of the French with many hard conditions.

While the events above related were taking place in different parts of Italy, Venice had to sustain assaults which only redounded to its glory. For some years past the Turks had attempted to take the Island of Candia out of their hands. The Venetians resisted, and, fighting under good leaders, gained several victories. But the Turks having greatly augmented their forces, the Venetians were obliged to yield the island to the enemy, notwithstanding that they received aid from various powers of Europe. Fifteen years after, hostilities having been renewed, Francesco Morosini made himself master of Athens and the Morea, in 1687, which Venice held till 1718, when the Turks again regained them. But having been created doge, and having returned to Greece to renew the struggle, he unfortunately lost his life (1694).

Chapter XLII

VICTOR AMADEUS AND THE FOUNDING OF THE ITALIAN KINGDOM. 1630-1748

AFTER the Peace of the Pyrenees, which terminated a long war in 1659, France and Spain stood for some years in friendly relation to each other. But each of these nations possessed certain lands in Piedmont, and the French, wishing to have possessions in other parts of Italy also, always attempted to thwart the Spaniards, and came to the aid of Piedmont whenever it was attacked by them. In the midst of these events the King of France, Louis XIV., following evil counsels, determined to drive all the Protestants out of the country, and applied to Victor Amadeus to induce him to follow the same course. Amadeus, though not openly refusing to do so, yet took his measures in so half-hearted a manner that the king was greatly offended, and sought an occasion of declaring war against him.

The Duke of Savoy was a good prince, and aimed in everything at the good of his people, by whom in turn he was greatly beloved. Nevertheless he could not hinder the French from invading his states and doing immense damage, being badly defeated by the French General Catinat at Staffarde in 1690 and again at Marsaglia in 1693. All Italy was involved in this war of the League of Augsburg, 1689-1697, which comprised the chief powers of Europe. It is related that, gazing from Turin upon the castle of Rivoli, reduced to ashes by the French, Victor Amadeus exclaimed: "Would to heaven that every one of my palaces were burned, provided the cottages of my peasants were safe!" On another occasion some peasants, whose houses had been burned by the French, came to him, and casting themselves at his feet, related to him all their misfortunes. Victor distributed all the money he had in his possession, and taking from his neck a collar studded with gems, tore it in pieces and distributed it to the poor husbandmen. The duke, seeing the wretched condition of Piedmont, signed a peace with Louis XIV. in 1696, which by the Treaty of Ryswick in 1697 became a general pacification.

But the death of Charles II., King of Spain, came to disturb the tranquillity of Europe. That king had bequeathed his throne to a French prince named Philip, grandson of the King of France. Louis XIV. accepted the will and placed Philip in possession of the throne. But Leopold I., Emperor of Germany, being related to the late king, also laid claim to the crown of Spain, and even the Duke of Savoy put in some right to the same crown. On this ground he entered into a league with the Emperor of Germany, as being the strongest, and at the same time the one who made him the largest promises. In 1701 a war broke out, which was called the War of Succession of Spain, because it originated in the pretension of different monarchs to the throne of that country.

On this there followed a complete perturbation through all Europe. On the one side stood France, Spain, and that part of Italy which belonged to Spain. On the other side was Germany, England, Portugal, and the Duke of Savoy, together with the other princes of Germany. To recount the history of this war would take us too far from our purpose, which aims only at giving the most important events in the history of Italy. But now when it was known that the Duke of Savoy had joined himself to the Emperor of Germany, a numerous army, composed of French and Spaniards, attacked his states. Victor Amadeus put the whole country on a war footing, and prepared a resolute resistance. But he could not prevent Savoy, Nice, Susa, Aosta, Ivrea, and Vercelli from falling into the hands of the enemy. They encountered, however, a stout resistance at the fortress of Verrua, which repelled the attacks of the enemy for six months, and then only surrendered from the failure of food and ammunition (1704). The fortress of Verrua, however, being at length taken, the enemy turned his steps toward Turin.

Victor Amadeus had concentrated his forces in the capital, which he had already well supplied with the munitions of war. The besiegers numbered above 60,000 men, and were provided with all the instruments of destruction then in use. To prosecute the siege with certainty of success, they had surrounded the citadel with two trenches, one of which served to defend them from the attacks of the besieged, the other to keep off any allies that might wish to bring aid to them. They labored silently week after week at these trenches, getting nearer and nearer to the fortifications. Then, as soon as they were sufficiently advanced, they attempted to make a fierce assault, accompanied with powerful artillery and the explosion of mines. The besieged, however, did not lose heart at these terrible attacks. There were in the city 8500 Piedmontese soldiers and 1500 Germans. A renowned engineer named Bertola superintended the works for the defense, and Count Solaro directed the artillery. At this critical moment four hundred persons of all ages and both sexes labored to bring earth and faggots to the walls. All the citizens became soldiers, and all were prepared for a desperate resistance. Large receptacles of water were placed here and there to put out the fires; the pavement in the roads was torn up, and the houses were bridged over and covered with earth, in order to sustain the bombardment.

Duke Victor, when he saw the immense superiority of the enemy, and that they had invested the city and the citadel on the side of the gate of Susa, resolved to leave Turin, in order to solicit aid, to get together all the soldiers he possibly could, and thus to surprise the enemy while intent on the siege. He arranged everything before his departure, encouraged all to stand firm and obey his orders, and went off with a small company of brave followers. With these he hovered round, attacking the French here and there, and skillfully eluding their attempts to surprise and capture him.

Still, in spite of the activity and circumspection of the duke, and the courage of the besieged, things had arrived at a lamentable pass. Many of the houses were leveled to the ground, many of the citizens had already perished, the munitions of war began to fail, and famine was staring them in the face. The sole hope of the citizens and of the duke rested on the expectation that his cousin Eugene, a prince of great valor, would come to his succor at the head of a German army. Prince Eugene had in early life become a priest. The reading of the history of the wars of antiquity inflamed his mind with the love of military glory, and for this purpose he presented himself to the King of France, Louis XIV., begging to have the command of a regiment. The king smiled at the request, and calling him "the good little abbot," sent him away, "to read his breviary." Eugene, deeply offended, went away, and took service with Austria as a simple volunteer. There he made such rapid progress that, at the age of thirty-four, he was appointed general at the head of an army which was to march against the Turks. The old soldiers, seeing him small of stature, and dressed in a simple tunic without any other trimming than metal buttons, said to one another, "This little capuchin will not pull many hairs out of the Turks' beards." But after he had gained a great battle, fought near the city of Zeuta, they began to love him as a father, and believed themselves to be invincible when under his leadership.

The King of France repented too late of his refusal, and to induce him to come under his banner offered to make him a marshal, with the governorship of Champagne. But Eugene, who had a generous nature, would not be induced to betray his sovereign or pass over to the enemy, and consequently he remained from that time faithful to the house of Austria. Whether it was to revenge the affront which he had received from the King of France, or whether it was from a desire to assist his cousin Victor Amadeus, at the appeal made to him he hastened by forced marches to Turin. The King of France sent to oppose him, first a general named Catinat, then another named Villeroi, and finally the Duke of Vendôme —all three reputed to be the most valiant generals of their time. Eugene engaged and conquered them in three separate battles—one on the Adige, another on the Mincio, and the third on the Po. Having accomplished these victories, he then marched rapidly upon Turin. Victor went out to join him at Carmagnola with 6000 horse and 1000 infantry. They met for a parley in a meadow near that city in the presence of all the soldiers. Hearing from there the continued roar of the artillery which was directed against Turin, and thinking sadly of the straits to which the defenders were reduced, they took all the necessary steps to meet so formidable a foe. The duke went in company with Prince Eugene to head the forces, passed the Po, and, making a wide turn toward Dora, managed to take the French in the rear.

While these things were passing the citadel was on the point of falling into the hands of the besiegers, and already a host of the enemy had succeeded during the night in opening a passage through the fosse of the citadel without being observed or seen. Gradually they approached the gate of a subterranean passage, which gave entrance into the middle of the citadel. Not a single soldier was there, but only a single miner by name Peter Micca, who stood at his post with an officer preparing to spring a mine. Not being able to resist the entrance of the enemy, he determined in his heart to perform a most magnanimous action. The mine was already laid, and he determined to fire it, although the apparatus which would enable the miner to escape to a place of safety was not yet attached. But Peter, regarding it as a case in which he ought to sacrifice his life for his country, recommended his family to the protection of the officer, and begged him to run and save himself. "I give my life," said he, "with the hope of saving my country." Taking hold then of a match, he fired the mine, and remained buried in the ruins together with the French grenadiers. This happened on the night of August 29, 1706.

On the morning of September 7, Eugene and Victor assailed the French, who on their side fought with prodigious bravery. Notwithstanding their immense numbers, however, and that the places near to the city and the citadel were already taken, they were compelled to a hand-to-hand encounter. The besieged, seeing that assistance had already reached them, made a sortie, and joining themselves with their allies, completely defeated the French. The duke and the brave Prince Eugene entered the city amid the acclamations of the people, and proceeded to the cathedral, where a solemn *Te Deum* was sung as thanksgiving for the victory achieved. Thus the French were driven out of the country, and Piedmont rose anew from its ruins. The duke established September 8 as a yearly day of thanksgiving, and built the magnificent temple at Superga.

After the battle of Turin the dissensions arising out of the Spanish succession lasted seven years longer, but had no effect upon Italy. At length the nations of Europe, being weary of the horrors of war, held a congress at Utrecht, when a treaty of peace was sketched out, which was afterward agreed on and signed in Rastadt and Baden in 1713-1714. By virtue of this treaty the kingdom of Spain was conceded to Philip V., grandson of the King of France, while Lombardy, Naples, and Sardinia were united to the empire of Austria; the whole peninsula became virtually Austrian.

In 1714 the Turks declared war against Venice. But Venice, largely owing to the irreparable blows to her commerce as a result of the geographical discoveries, was now no longer the flourishing and formidable power which it had been in past ages. In the times of which we now speak, effeminacy and corruption had become introduced among the citizens. The government, instead of rousing up the people to arms in case of war, preferred to call in foreign soldiers, and to confide the command of them to strangers. Just as these things had been the cause of the fall of the Roman Empire, so was it also with this republic. The Venetians, feeling themselves to be weak, called in the aid of the Christian powers, even before they had begun to suffer any discomforts. Finally, having obtained aid from the Emperor of Austria, from the Pope, from Tuscany, and from the Knights of Malta, they were enabled to confront the Turks, who were soon constrained to beg for peace. This was conceded to them on condition that they should yield up the Morea, captured at the end of the seventeenth century. And thus the war came to an end in 1718.

The victory at Turin brought peace to Piedmont, and we may say, indeed, to the whole of Italy. By virtue of the Treaty of Rastadt the states of the Duke of Savoy were greatly enlarged. The whole of Montferrat, Alessandria, Valenza, Lomellina, the valley of Sessia, and all that the French possessed on that side of the Alps were added to them. By virtue of the same treaty, Sicily[1] was also ceded to Victor Amadeus, with the title of king, which title we shall now give to him and his successors in the subsequent portion of our history. Victor Amadeus, having now become the tranquil possessor of these new states, occupied himself with parental solicitude in repairing the losses caused by long-continued war, and took many useful measures to promote the arts and sciences. He established anew the university in Turin, and enlarged the cathedral. He reorganized the methods of public secondary education, and confided them to the care of a body of learned men, which was called the Magistracy of Reforms. From 1718 to 1730 he devoted his energies also to improving the laws and administration of his states, having a tedious quarrel with the Pope. He likewise improved the finances and aided agriculture and sheep-raising. By insisting on the equality of all classes before the law he dealt a severe blow to feudalism.

As a sovereign he was remarkable for his valor and his political sagacity. Finally he abdicated on September 30, 1730, and was succeeded by his son, Charles Emmanuel, who ruled till 1773. Victor had firmly laid the foundations of an Italian kingdom, and his work was to have an important effect in encouraging a national Italian sentiment.

About this time two illustrious families became extinct which for many years had held authority in Italy—that of the Medici in Florence, and that of the Farnesi, which for a long period had held the sovereignty in Parma and Piacenza. Both of these dukedoms passed first of all to a Spanish prince called Don Carlos; but on his going soon after to take possession of the kingdom of Naples and Sicily forming the kingdom of the Two Sicilies, a Spanish Bourbon secundogeniture, Tuscany came under the power of the Duke of Lorraine. This duke was called Francis, and by his marriage with Maria Theresa, daughter of the Emperor Charles VI., became the ancestor of the grand dukes who governed Tuscany for so long a period.[2] The government of Parma and Piacenza passed into the hands of Philip, brother of Don Carlos in 1735.

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[1] Exchanged with Austria in 1720 for Sardinia, also with the royal title.

Charles Emmanuel on his accession to the throne gave his special attention to the reorganization of the army. He founded schools of artillery, completed the building of two large fortresses, one at Alessandria, the other at Brunetta; he built the arsenal and greatly ameliorated the condition of the Island of Sardinia, so that the population rapidly increased. He desired to abolish feudalism, but could not entirely succeed in doing so, though he did away with a great part of its claims.

While Charles Emmanuel was thus carrying on his reforms in Piedmont, Leopold I., Grand Duke of Tuscany and second son of Francis and Maria Theresa, did the same in his own states. He abolished many privileges, forbade the use of torture, and did away with many other abuses in the administration of justice. He dissolved the guilds, reorganized the studies of the university, and founded schools and hospitals.

During the reign of Charles Emmanuel two events happened which lighted up commotion throughout Europe as well as Italy, namely, the Polish war and the War of the Succession of Austria. In Poland the king was always chosen by election—that is, at the death of any sovereign, the son did not succeed his deceased father; but the principal nobles of the kingdom, termed electors, held an assembly, and elected the person whom they considered most capable of holding the reins of government, even though a foreigner.

In the year 1733 the King of Poland, by name Frederick, died, and the nobles of the kingdom were in disagreement as to the choice of a successor. France favored a certain Stanislaus, who had already been king in the early part of that century. But Austria and Russia wished Augustus of Saxony, son of the deceased monarch, to be chosen. This led to a war on the part of France and Spain against Russia and Austria. The theater of this war was for the most part in Italy, and the King of Sardinia took part, now on one side and now on the other, employing both courage and circumspection for the preservation of his own states.[3]

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[2] This was due to the Peace of Vienna between France and Austria. Tuscany became a secundogeniture of the Austrian house.

The other event which had much to do with the contemporary history of Italy was the War of Succession of Austria. Charles VI., Holy Roman Emperor, died in 1740 without leaving any other heir than Maria Theresa, wife of Francis, Duke of Tuscany. By force of a law called the Pragmatic Sanction, she was now heir to the Hapsburg lands. But Prussia, France, and Spain declared against Maria Theresa, so that they might have the chance of dividing the Austrian territories among themselves. England and Sardinia, on the other hand, opposed them, and out of this arose a great European war which lasted nine years.

Charles Emmanuel throughout the strife showed himself a true hero, and signalized himself in many battles both in Italy and abroad. A powerful army of Austrians and Piedmontese routed on several occasions the allied French and Spanish forces, and at length succeeded in driving them wholly out of Italy. The conquerors, rendered confident by these successes, divided themselves into two portions. The main army, composed of Germans, marched toward Genoa, while Charles Emmanuel followed the French along the Riviera and the shores of the Mediterranean toward France. Here he gained several victories over the French army, until, that army being reinforced, he suffered a defeat, and was obliged to return to Piedmont.

A numerous army of French now attempted to descend into Piedmont on the side of Monginevro. Up to that time there had only been two practicable roads from France into Piedmont—one which passed close by the fortress of Fenestrelle, and then descended toward Pinerolo, while the other followed the route through Susa and had to pass the fortress of Exilles. The French, to avoid these two fortresses, attempted to pass by the Col of Assietta, which divides the mountain on which these two fortresses are situated. To defend the Col of Assietta, four battalions of Austrians were posted there, and ten battalions of Piedmontese, under the command of Count Bricherasio. The French to the number of forty battalions, guided by General Belleisle, a brave but inexpert leader, commenced their descent by the rocks and precipices. At the sight of these unexpected assailants, who climbed down among the fragments and crevices of the mountains, the defenders were struck with terror, the more so as the enemy were so much more numerous than themselves, and covered well-nigh the whole mountain. Notwithstanding this, considering their favorable position, and thinking that the safety of the whole country depended on the safety of that fort, they determined to make a bold resistance. The French made many desperate attacks, which were repelled with equal boldness by the besieged.

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[3] He wished to eat the artichoke, *i. e.*, Lombard, leaf by leaf, he said, and he proceeded carefully, bargaining with both sides, to secure the most possible of his coveted artichoke.

Belleisle, wishing to make a last attempt, took the flag, invited his companions to follow him, and climbed up, determined to take the fort or die. The besieged, seeing themselves assailed with so much impetuosity, redoubled their efforts. Lances, swords, artillery, everything was brought to bear; rocks and stones were hurled down upon the enemy, until they were at last forced to give way, and victory declared itself on the side of the Piedmontese. The French general fell; five thousand French, among whom were three hundred officers belonging to the first nobility, remained dead or were taken prisoners. The others, struck with terror, returned and took refuge in France.

But the Germans who had marched upon Genoa, not knowing how to use their victories with moderation, met with a sad reverse. To understand this, it must be noted that the Genoese had allied themselves with the French, and had given them great help in the war against the Piedmontese and Austrians. But now the French being worsted, and compelled to retire in haste, a general named Botta, a native of Pavia, marched upon Genoa to take his revenge.

The Genoese having been obliged to supply arms, soldiers, money, and other aid to the French, were not now in a position to make a vigorous defense, and therefore sued for peace, offering to agree to any conditions he might make. Botta, profiting by the panic of the citizens, imposed very hard conditions; among others, that the gates of the city should be thrown open, the artillery and munitions of war given up, the doge sent to Vienna, and a large sum of money paid down for the expenses of the war. These conditions were extremely hard, virtually despoiling the republic and making slaves of the citizens. The Genoese begged in the most abject manner that the victorious general would mitigate his conditions, but without effect, for hardly had Botta made his entrance than he imposed another tribute of eighteen million francs, six million of which were to be paid within six days, six million more in eight days, and the balance within fifteen days. To these oppressions they added barbarous threats and continual robberies. The Genoese sent a deputation, which the general turned back, saying, "You are unworthy of consideration. We mean to despoil you of all you have, and leave you nothing but your eyes to weep." They were obliged, therefore, to sell all the treasure in the churches, and the public funds; and thus, by dint of great efforts, the eighteen million francs were paid. But what was their surprise when the Germans made demand for another six million francs, then other sums, besides threatening to sack the city in case of refusal. On this the indignation of the citizens was aroused, and it only needed an occasion for a general rebellion to break out. An occasion soon presented itself.

While the Germans were dragging a great mortar through the city, the street sank in, and the cavalcade was stopped. They accordingly attempted to force the people to lend them aid, and those who refused had to receive blows with sticks. At the sight of this brutal oppression, a young man named Ballilla, boiling over with indignation and desperation, took up a stone, and saying, "It is high time to finish this," threw it at one of the Germans. Instantly men of every age and condition began to pelt the soldiers with stones and pieces of rock. Some of them were killed, while others, leaving the mortar in the road, took to flight. The tumult, however, went on increasing; night came on, and the people, arming themselves with everything they could lay hold of, assailed the Germans even up to the mouth of the cannon. Botta then knew that he had committed a great mistake in abusing his victory, and after some hours of fierce combat, offered favorable terms to the Genoese, who refused them, saying, "We want no more alms from you."

Nothing remained then to the Germans but a hasty flight, the Genoese following at their heels, crying, "*Viva Genoa! Viva Maria!*" So precipitous was the flight that they left behind them all the munitions of war and the provisions of the army.

The fight at Assietta and the liberation of Genoa are the last events in the War of the Austrian Succession. All the people of Italy were tired of war, and the powers, to make an end of it, held a conference at Aix-la-Chapelle. Thus in the year 1748 peace was established, and Francis I., husband of Maria Theresa, was recognized Emperor of Germany. Charles Emmanuel received by the peace the upper part of Novara and Vigerano, thus realizing some at least of his territorial ambitions; Don Philip was given Parma, Piacenza, and Guastalla as an independent duchy; Don Carlos was confirmed in the Two Sicilies. From this date, 1748, till 1796, Italy was undisturbed by invasion.

Chapter XLIII

CELEBRATED MEN OF THE MIDDLE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY. 1750-1800

AFTER the victory of Assietta, the liberation of Genoa, and the peace concluded at Aix-la-Chapelle, nearly half a century passed over without any remarkable political events affecting the condition of Italy. The Seven Years' War, with France, Austria, and Russia on the one side, Prussia and England on the other, occupied the whole attention, and taxed all the resources, of the greater powers of Europe. But Italy took no part in these conflicts, and their narration cannot, therefore, properly find any place in Italian history. While these events are transpiring, we can therefore give some account of a few of the remarkable men who lived in Italy about the middle of the eighteenth century.

The first we shall mention is Julius Alberoni, son of a gardener in Piacenza. Showing in early life great aptitude for learning, his father procured for him the means of prosecuting his studies, in which he made marvelous progress. He then embraced the ecclesiastical profession. His great ability and aptitude for managing affairs of state afterward led him to take a conspicuous part in the most important political affairs of Europe. He was first a parish priest, then a canon, and secretary to the Bishop of St. Donnino, and after a time became minister to the King of Spain. In this capacity he was mixed up with many important events. Among other things he caused a powerful fleet to be got ready with the utmost secrecy in Spain, sailed with it to Italy, and made himself master of the islands of Sicily and Sardinia. But as it was by means of political intrigues that he was brought to the apex of power, so it was through them also that he was destined to be brought low. After having been for many years arbiter of affairs in Spain, he was, as a result of his Italian plans, at the instance of France, England, and Sardinia, deposed from his high position and sent into exile. Among the things, however, which render the memory of Alberoni remarkable, we ought to mention the college founded at Piacenza, at his expense, where sixty poor youths enjoy free education. In this college he terminated his days in the year 1752.

"One man of genius, Vittorio Alfieri, the creater of Italian tragedy, . . . taught to the Italians the lesson of respect for themselves and for their country (a lesson) . . . which Italy most of all required to learn; and the appearance of this manly and energetic spirit in its literature gave hope that the Italian nation would not long be content to remain without political being."[1]

Ludovico Antonio Muratori ranks as one of the most learned men whom Europe produced during the eighteenth century. He was born at Vignola, a village near Modena, and made his first studies in that city. He early signalized himself by the astonishing progress which he made in the ancient languages, in philosophy, in jurisprudence, and in theology. He was sober and diligent, ate only what was sufficient to sustain life, allowed himself only five hours' rest in the day, and took care never to lose a moment of time from morning to night. At the age of twenty, Muratori was reckoned one of the most learned men of his time. He became a priest, and was appointed to one of the principal churches in Modena. But being invited by the duke to become his librarian, he renounced his ecclesiastical office, and buried himself in his favorite studies.

The works he published amount to the number of sixty-four volumes in folio. They relate chiefly to the history of Italy. He first collected and published the most important documents, and then wrote the annals of the country based upon these most trustworthy reports. He also published works on religion and theology. He died at the age of seventy-seven, in the year 1750. To the present day the works of Muratori are one of the main sources from which the materials of Italian history are drawn.

Another celebrated author and poet flourished at this time, namely, Pietro Bonaventura Trapassi, commonly termed Metastasio. He was the son of a poor tradesman in Rome, who for want of means could not send his son to school to be educated; but a certain advocate named Gravina, hearing him one day recite some verses extempore, took him into favor, and had him instructed in Latin and Greek. By the advice of his teacher he composed a tragedy entitled "*Guistino*" when only fourteen years of age, in which the genius of the youth first began to manifest itself. At the age of twenty he lost his benefactor, who left him, however, a considerable fortune. As the reputation of his dramas began to be widely extended, he was invited to Vienna, the imperial city, and a salary was given him, with the title of Imperial Poet.

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[1] Fyffe, "Modern Europe," p. 76.

Metastasio composed many famous poems, and showed a most generous and disinterested character. He was greatly honored by the Empress Maria Theresa, and died at a good old age amid the regrets of the wise and the great.

We shall mention one other man of note who lived somewhat later than Metastasio, namely, Giuseppe Parini.[2] He was born at Bosisio, a village in Lombardy, also of poor parents. The father perceiving the great ability of his son, and his extraordinary diligence in study, not being able otherwise to aid his progress, sold his farm and went to live at Milan. There they soon became reduced to great straits, and the lad had to occupy his time in copying briefs for advocates, the proceeds of which he carried home to his parents. On the death of his father, he made over all that was left of the paternal inheritance to his mother, and labored for his own subsistence. By dint of industry and study he became an excellent poet, and was nominated public professor of literature by the Governor of Milan.

Parini labored assiduously for the good of his fellow-citizens, and filled many important posts in the municipality. In 1796, when General Bonaparte made his victorious entrance into Milan, Parini was selected from among the members of the municipal body to confer with him, and succeeded by his firmness and sagacity in warding off many evils. He possessed an ardent temperament, but held it always under control, and never bore enmity against anyone, not even his personal enemies. He died at Milan at the age of seventy, in the year 1799, a year big with important events for the future of Italy. In other directions, we have Galvani of Bologna and Volta of Como, whose works on electricity rendered them famous. Beccaria wrote his famous book on "Crimes and Punishments," advocating a due relation between them; and Filangieri of Naples wrote on the "Science of Legislation," an admirable work. In the drama we find the celebrated Goldoni. At this time also several of the princes deserve by their attempts at reform to be numbered among the *princes éclairés* of the century. Notable among them was the Bourbon Charles of Naples, aided by his minister, Tanucci. In Parma, Duke Philip, guided by Dutillot, carried through extensive reforms; and the same was true in Tuscany under the Grand Dukes Francis and Leopold; and finally Charles Emmanuel I. of Sardinia proved himself a reformer.

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[2] See "*Die italienische Einheitsidee in ihrer litterarischen Entwicklung von Parini bis Manzoni,*" by O. Bulle, Berlin, 1893.

Chapter XLIV

ITALY AND NAPOLEON BONAPARTE. 1789-1815.

IN the various states of Italy the form of government which had existed in the time of Charles V. had with few exceptions remained unaltered down to 1796. Piedmont belonged to the house of Savoy, and had taken the title of the kingdom of Sardinia. Lombardy was under the government of the Emperor of Germany. The two republics of Genoa and Venice continued to exist, but in a degenerate form; for since the discovery of America they had ceased to be the great centers of commerce and the queens of the ocean, which they had been for centuries before. In the Two Sicilies and the dukedom of Parma princes were still reigning who were descended from the Spanish Bourbons. Lucca was a republic. In Tuscany there was a grand duke, brother of the Roman emperor. Rome and the Romagna formed the states of the church, and in the middle of the Roman states was the little republic of San Marino, which still exists in the center of Italy.

Moreover, for fifty years there had been peace in Italy, and for the most part throughout Europe also. Despite the reforms and works of literature and science referred to above, Italy as a whole, that is, the mass of the people, was sunk in a hopeless lethargy, undisturbed from within or without and superstitiously devout. As Quinet says, "Roman Catholicism had become the *patrie* of the lower classes," through lack of any other. The disputes between the Roman See and the temporal princes of Italy had been allayed, and Clement XIV. had embellished Rome itself during his pontificate, having formed there a museum of antiquities, and in various ways promoted the fine arts. Meanwhile, in France, a great-grandson of Louis XIV. had succeeded to the throne under the title of Louis XV. This prince had at first excited great expectations; but, surrounded by evil company, he became soon engulfed in a life of mere pleasure, neglecting the affairs of the state, and shutting his eyes to the misery of the people. After a long and useless reign he was succeeded by his grandson, Louis XVI. When this prince came to the throne the offices and revenues of the state were wretchedly mismanaged, grievous burdens were pressing upon the people, justice was badly administered, and famine was stalking through the land. Louis attempted to stem these evils, but his efforts proved in vain. The facts of the French Revolution are too extraneous to require any other than the briefest record. Unheard-of barbarities were committed, religion was persecuted, the nobility were driven into exile and their lands confiscated, the king and queen were brought to the scaffold, and the whole framework of society was subverted.

The abettors of this revolution now began to propagate their principles throughout Italy, where on the whole, till 1796, they met with little sympathy and long found the priests to be their worst enemies, owing to the French irreligion. A French army had already found the way across the Alps, with the aim of making themselves masters of Italy by force of arms, aided by sympathizers in that country. The King of Sardinia, Victor Amadeus II., gave a vigorous opposition to this movement, which in fact made but little way until the republican government in France placed General Napoleon Bonaparte at the head of the army of invasion. This general was a native of Ajaccio in Corsica, his family having originally gone from Tuscany to settle in that island. He was placed while almost a child in a military college in France, and soon showed great aptitude in all military affairs. When his scholastic career was completed, he entered the French army as a sub-lieutenant, but rose rapidly in the ranks until he was then intrusted with the command of the army in Italy.

The news that the French were on their way, led by Napoleon, struck terror into the minds of the Italian princes, who conferred together to invite aid from the English, the Austrians, and the Russians. But these powers were at a distance from the scene of conflict, and their help was long in coming; moreover, the republics of Genoa and Venice and the Grand Duke of Tuscany refused to join the alliance, and thus rendered the efforts of the defenders of Italy almost useless.

Napoleon now managed with marvelous rapidity to penetrate into Italy. The Piedmontese resisted for some time; but then feeling themselves too weak to hold front against the enemy any longer, they attempted to make terms. Accordingly an armistice was concluded in Cherasco between Bonaparte and the king's ministers, and later a treaty of peace was concluded in Paris. By virtue of this treaty the annexation of Savoy and Nice to France, which had taken place in 1792, was confirmed; the fortresses of Ceva, Cuneo, Tortona, and Alessandria were occupied by French soldiers, while those of Exilles, Brunetta, and Susa were demolished; in a word, everything was taken which could serve as a future defense to the country.

Thus, then, the Piedmontese were the first to bear the foreign yoke. Napoleon, it is true, was not one of those who aimed at the destruction of the people and their religion; but in order to satisfy his soldiers and to strike terror into the minds of the people he subdued, he imposed heavy contributions of money and of works of art on friend and foe alike and crushed all opposition to his rule with an unsparing hand.

Napoleon did all he could to spread revolutionary ideas through the country, and encouraged the people to rise in opposition to their sovereigns. Milan became the capital of the Cisalpine republic, and thus the French army, making its progress through Italy, arrived near to Rome. Napoleon sent a message to the Pope, saying that he would content himself with the cession of Ferrara and Bologna, and would not do anything to disturb the rest of his states, provided he furnished him with a large sum of money. Pope Pius VI., who was powerless to resist, consented to the demands of Napoleon, and paid him the required sum of money, selling many sacred objects from the churches to raise it. But when the French, commanded by General Berthier, entered Rome, they at once announced that the Pope was dethroned from his temporal sovereignty, removed the Roman guards, and put French soldiers in their place.

Not content with this, the French general now proceeded to add insult to injury, and insisted on clothing the Pope in a tricolored scarf. But Pius VI. answered: "I know nothing of any device but that of the church. You have power over my body, but my mind is superior to any such attempt. You may burn the dwellings of the living and desecrate the tombs of the dead, but religion itself is eternal. It will exist after you, as it existed before, and its reign will last forever." While this colloquy was passing, soldiers were sent to sack the pontifical palace. They made their entrance into the most venerable cabinets, and sold many of the precious volumes from the Vatican library. There was not a thing, however sacred, which was not seized upon to turn into money.

The Pope was now obliged to leave Rome, and took refuge in a convent at Florence, where he was visited by many of the unfortunate princes, and among others by Charles Emmanuel II., King of Sardinia. This unhappy prince, after having held out manfully against the republicans, had been forced to abandon his throne on the mainland and take refuge in the island of Sardinia. Arriving at Florence, he had an interview with Pius VI.; and when he and his family saw him, they threw themselves at his feet, overcome by their mutual misfortunes. Charles Emmanuel continued his voyage to Sardinia, and the venerable pontiff was taken prisoner to France, where he died after a month's confinement on August 29, 1799.

In the meantime, two formidable armies had come from Germany to the relief of Italy, marching along the banks of the Adige, between Venice and Verona. Napoleon was at this time occupied with the siege of Mantua, and not feeling himself strong enough to continue the siege and at the same time hold front against these two armies, he left Mantua and marched against the first army as it descended from the Alps, and put it to flight; then he hastened to meet the second army, and routed it also. Then returning to the siege of Mantua, he forced it to surrender. The Italians, however, did not everywhere rest content with this state of things. Discontent showed itself in Verona, and a French vessel entering Venice was assailed by the Venetians. Napoleon, making a pretext of these things, attacked Venice, and making himself master of the city, abolished the old government and shortly handed over Venice and its territory to Austria. He afterward did the same thing at Genoa. Thus these two republics, after a glorious career of fifteen centuries, fell like a man weighed down with years and toil, without any hope of a revival. All Italy, except Naples and Venice, accordingly, had now become French (1797).

In this year a treaty of peace was concluded between France and Austria, called the Treaty of Campoformio. By virtue of this treaty the River Rhine was made the limit of France, and the Ionian Islands were ceded to it. By the same treaty, also, the Cisalpine republic was extended to the River Adige.

In relating, as we have just done, the victories of the French, it is not to be supposed that they met with no difficulties from the resistance of the Italians. Difficulties, in fact, soon made their appearance, when Napoleon, imagining that he had well consolidated the dominion of the French in Italy, left the country, and went on an expedition into Egypt, in order to make himself master of more distant countries. The Russians and Austrians also, with some other of the European sovereigns, mustered their forces to oppose the conquerors, who threatened to overrun the whole of Europe. The French, indeed, exhibited marvelous valor, but as the results of a war depend mainly upon the skill of the general, and as Napoleon was no longer at the head of the French forces, they met with several reverses, until they were at length driven wholly out of Italy, and pursued to the very frontiers of France. The governments set up by Napoleon in Italy at once fell and the old rulers returned (1798-1799).

When Napoleon returned from Egypt and heard of the defeat in Italy he determined to regain possession of the peninsula. He got together, at once, as large a force as he was able, and marched with the utmost celerity upon Italy, making a passage over the Great St. Bernard. In crossing the Alps the army had to overcome enormous difficulties, particularly in transporting the artillery and the cavalry, in consequence of the glaciers and the precipices they had to pass over. The news of the approach of Napoleon at first terrified the allies, but when they came to know that their own forces were far superior to those of the enemy, they decided upon resisting him at whatever cost. For this purpose they concentrated the flower of the allied army in the plain of Marengo, a small village of Piedmont, near to Alessandria. Napoleon went boldly to confront the enemy, and determined to fight a pitched battle on the spot. This battle was to decide the fate of Napoleon, of Italy, perhaps of the whole of Europe. Both sides, accordingly, fought with the utmost courage and fury. At the beginning the Austrians prevailed, and Napoleon was already meditating a retreat. But suddenly fortune again smiled upon him, and the timely arrival of one of his generals, named Dessaix, gained him the victory. The plains of Marengo were covered with the slain. Nineteen thousand Germans and eight thousand French were left dead on the field (1800). In consequence of this battle, the Germans retired over the Mincio, and the French regained Piedmont, Genoa, and Lombardy. After this deed of arms no one could any longer arrest the progress of Napoleon. Victory attended him wherever he went. First, Naples fell under his dominion, so that all Italy became subject to the French, while Belgium, Holland, and Egypt were occupied by the armies of the conqueror.

But he, the very man who had hitherto served the French republic, now began to hate all republican government, and aimed at making himself absolute master both of France and of the other kingdoms he had conquered. First, he had himself created consul with two other colleagues; then first consul for life, and in this character he introduced many reforms. He abolished the laws which the republic had passed against the nobility and the priests; by the concordat with Pope Pius VII. in 1801, friendly relations between France and Rome were once more resumed, and Bonaparte recognized the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman religion as that of the majority of the French people, and reorganized the government of France; he favored public education, and made roads to facilitate commerce. In Italy he opened a national institution for the promotion of science, and created the most celebrated men of the time members of it.

After the victory of Marengo, Napoleon pursued the war again against Austria, from which he took several of the German provinces. In fact, he now aimed at the same kind of universal dominion which Charlemagne had formerly exercised, and had himself solemnly crowned by the Pope. In the meantime Pius VI. had died in 1799, and a successor had to be appointed. At the death of Pius the French were occupying all Italy. The cardinals and many of the bishops were dispersed, so that it seemed impossible for the Sacred College to assemble to elect a new Pope. But just at this moment the Austrians and Russians were successful in Italy and thus the cardinals were enabled to assemble and elect a new pontiff, under the name of Pius VII.

The new Pope went at once to take possession of his pontifical throne, but was soon called by Napoleon to Paris, in order to crown him emperor. Pius hesitated at first to go at the request of the French monarch, because he knew he only wished to use him for his own political purposes. Nevertheless, with the desire of rendering himself friendly to so formidable a personage, to ward off the evils which would be brought upon the church by his refusal, and also to make known that he did not desire to refuse the great favor which Napoleon promised to confer upon the church, he determined, finally, to accept the invitation. Pius VII., accordingly, started from Rome, passed through a large portion of France, entered Paris amid the acclamations of the people, and anointed Napoleon on December 2, 1804.

The year after this. Napoleon conquered the Austrian army at Ulm, and just after the first anniversary of his coronation he fought the battle of Austerlitz in Bohemia, and gained a great victory over the two emperors of Russia and Austria. After this battle a treaty was signed at Presburg, by virtue of which Venice and Dalmatia were ceded to the empire of France. In the midst of these victories Napoleon was always considering how he could strike a blow at the prosperity of England. Seeing that it would be difficult, if not impossible, to subject England by force of arms, he determined to try the plan of crushing her commerce. For this purpose, he forbade all the friendly powers of Europe to admit English produce and manufacture, which decree he termed the Continental System. In accordance with this system, he wished to bind over the King of Portugal to close all his ports to English merchandise, and gave orders that all subjects of Great Britain found within his states should be arrested and their goods confiscated. The King of Portugal not being willing to consent to these measures, Napoleon determined to invade Portugal with a mixed French and Spanish army.

Aspiring now after glory and dominion like that of Charlemagne, he went to Italy and had himself crowned King of Italy at Milan with the Iron Crown with which the ancient Lombards were accustomed to crown their sovereigns. It is said that as Napoleon placed the crown on his own head, he exclaimed, " God has given it me, and woe be to him who touches it ! "

As soon as Napoleon had gained what he desired from the hands of the Pope, he no longer thought of maintaining his promises, but planned making himself master of all the states then under the power of the Papal See. To give a specious pretext for doing this, he made demands which the Pope could not possibly grant—that is, he demanded an offensive and defensive alliance; that one-third of the cardinals should be Frenchmen; that the whole temporal power, in fact, should be virtually conceded to him. As the pontiff could not make these concessions, Napoleon commenced to lay an impost of several millions upon the country, in order to pay which the Pope had to part with many of the objects employed in the sacred rites of the churches. But soon Napoleon showed his real design, and ordered one of his generals to take possession of the pontifical states and the city of Rome itself. These were then declared to be annexed to France, and the Pope was conducted as a prisoner to

Fontainbleau. Thus the whole of the Italian peninsula fell under the empire of France, but it still consisted of several states,—the kingdom of Italy ruled by a viceroy, the kingdom of Naples ruled by Murat, though the Bourbons still held Sicily and the kingdom of Sardinia, which was reduced to that island, all the rest of its territory being annexed to France. Rome was declared the second city in the empire, being next to Paris.

Napoleon now being master of a great part of Europe, partitioned the different kingdoms among his own relations. He appointed first his brother Joseph, but afterward his brother-in-law Joachim Murat, King of Naples. Murat was a man of obscure birth, but by his great courage had gained favor with Napoleon, who now raised him to the regal dignity. At the beginning of his reign Murat took the Island of Capri, which had been occupied by the English. Next he abolished feudalism, and freed the whole country from the hordes of brigands which infested it. He then tried to take possession of Sicily, but did not succeed. In a word, he endeavored to render himself wholly independent of France, but only succeeded so far as to remove the French soldiers away from his territory.

Another brother-in-law of Napoleon, the Prince Borghese, was made Governor of Piedmont, and to his sister Eliza he gave Tuscany. In 1811 he constituted his own son—born of Maria Louisa, daughter of the Emperor of Austria—King of Rome. To his brother Louis he gave the kingdom of Holland, to Joseph Bonaparte, Spain, and to the youngest brother Jérôme, the kingdom of Westphalia.

These arbitrary appointments showed the people of Europe that he had no desire for their liberty, but only wished to impose new masters upon them; and this gave rise to many wars and outbreaks, and among others an especially sanguinary one in Spain. Italy, in fact, was divided by him into three parts, of which one only bore the name of the Italian kingdom. This kingdom extended from the River Sessia to the River Isonza, and from the Alps to the Po. Beyond the Po it comprehended the territories of Modena and Guastalla, with some few other provinces, the population being about six and a half millions.

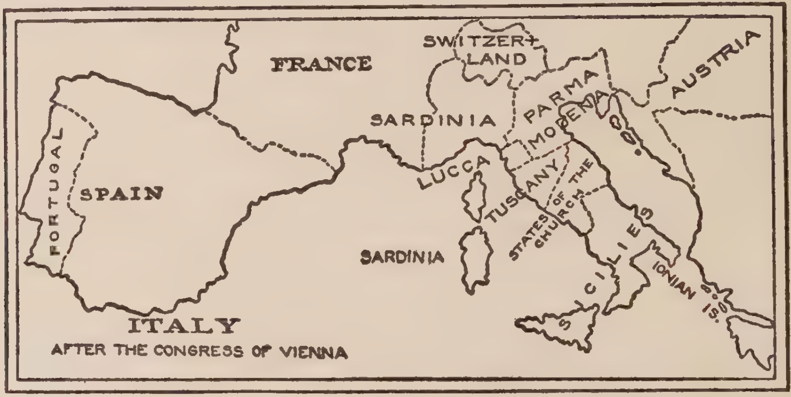
With the eager desires of subjecting the whole world to his power, Napoleon next conceived the extraordinary design of conquering the great empire of Russia, embracing as it does all the vast countries to the north of Europe and Asia. Napoleon did not disguise from himself that the enterprise was one of great difficulty, and he therefore put on foot an army of more than four hundred thousand men. With this army he traversed the whole of Germany, and advanced into the heart of the colossal Russian empire. The great forces employed, and the renown of the general, carried such terror before them that the countries through which they had to pass were turned into one vast desert. After several skirmishes and one sanguinary battle, he arrived at Moscow, and took possession of it; but on arriving he found that the Russian governor had set fire to the city, so that it should not serve as a refuge to the French during the winter that was then coming on. Napoleon remained there one whole month, hoping to force the Russians to accept the conditions of peace which he chose to offer. But they refused to respond to any of his propositions, foreseeing that winter would surprise him in the midst of a desolated country.

Then Napoleon at last saw that he had penetrated too far into those northern regions without the resources which were indispensable for so numerous an army. The winter came, and proved their most invincible enemy. The rivers were frozen, the fields covered with snow. Warm clothing was indispensable to the soldiers, and of this he had none. The horrors of the retreat are a matter of history. Some gave themselves up as prisoners, others died frozen on the plains, and those who still lived threw away their arms, which they could no longer carry. Few survived the terrible disaster, and even Napoleon himself with difficulty succeeded in escaping into France (1812-1813).

This grand army being now destroyed, Napoleon lost the support on which his power relied, and all the nations whom he had oppressed rose up against him. The allies gave him battle near Leipsic and gained the advantage. Napoleon fled to Paris and was followed up by the enemy. At length he retired to Fontainebleau and there deposed the imperial crown (1814). The allied powers exiled him to Elba, an island lying between Corsica and Tuscany. Austria was now in a position to reoccupy Italy, and the allied sovereigns, holding a congress at Vienna, deliberated as to the future government of the different provinces which they had retaken by force of arms. The " legitimate " princes were for the most part restored, and the pristine forms of government were again established, so that Italy in form returned to its condition prior to 1796, but " the old fixity of confusion which passed for government" had been too rudely shaken to be as strong as ever. The form might be the same, the spirit was soon seen to be different.

During the sitting of this congress Napoleon succeeded in escaping from Elba, and reassuming the reins of government in France, March, 1815. He disembarked on the shores of France, where many of his old soldiers received him with transports of joy; at every step he took the remains of the great army gathered round him; he entered Paris in triumph, and reëstablished the imperial power.

At this unexpected news the allies again armed themselves for the conflict, and reassembled their forces on the frontiers of France. Napoleon marched boldly into Belgium to confront them, and the combatants engaged on the field of Waterloo. Here the imperial army was defeated, mainly by the skill of Wellington and the prowess of the English army, and Napoleon was obliged to retire to Paris. Thus, after having reigned a hundred days, he fell a second time from the height of power. Napoleon then knew that all further resistance was unavailing, and seeing all Europe in arms against him, he consented to abdicate once and forever, and to give himself into the hands of the English. This time the place of his exile was St. Helena, a solitary island in the Atlantic, and well-nigh one thousand miles distant from any known country. There he passed five years, meditating on his past triumphs and his present downfall.



Napoleon being now removed from the scene of strife, the sovereigns of Europe proceeded peacefully with their consultations at Vienna. By virtue of the treaty there agreed upon, arrangements were entered into in regard to Italy and Europe at large, which remained in force down to the middle of the present century. Sardinia, Savoy, Piedmont, and Novara were restored to their former king, Genoa being now also added to his dominions. The countries belonging to Venice and Lombardy were made over to Austria, under the name of the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom. The Neapolitan states and Tuscany were restored to their former sovereigns. The Pope returned to the peaceable possession of his states without any alteration. The dukedoms of Reggio, Modena, and Mirandola were given to Francis, Duke of Austria; and those of Parma, Piacenza, and Guastalla to Marie Louise, the wife of Napoleon. Austria, by actual possessions and by the dependence of the petty rulers, most of whom were related to the Austrian dynasty, became more than ever the predominant power in Italy. As Metternich, prime minister of Austria, said: "Italy is only a geographical expression." And Austria was to prove the most determined foe of Italian unity.

Chapter XLV

REVOLUTION IN ITALIAN STATES—WAR WITH AUSTRIA. 1820-1849

AFTER the reconstitution of the kingdoms as above noted, in the Congress of Vienna,[1] Italy enjoyed some years of tranquillity—which, indeed, were greatly needed to repair the evils caused by the preceding revolutions and wars. During this period the secret societies, such as the Carbonari, Calldieri, Young Italy, etc., grew very strong and began to work at first for reforms in the separate states, before long for the union of all Italy. To succeed in this attempt, all the separate Italian states would have to be abolished. They sought, therefore, for this end to excite the population everywhere against their sovereigns—demanding a constitution similar to that which had been granted in Spain, where the prince shared this power with the people, and all the subjects were equal in the eye of the law. This secret society—terming themselves Carbonari—was spread widely throughout Italy, and especially in the kingdom of Naples. By promises and by bribery, they succeeded in gaining over many of the soldiers, and induced a general named Pepe to put himself at the head of the insurrection. On the morning of July 2, 1820, a squadron of cavalry stationed at Nola raised the republican standard—black, red, and blue. This was the signal for the revolution to commence. Many cities and troops, persuaded by the Carbonari, united themselves under the command of Pepe to march upon Naples and demand the constitution at the hands of King Ferdinand.

The king, in order to appease the tumult, called out his soldiers, but they, seduced by the revolutionists, had for the most part deserted. He then determined to abdicate temporarily in favor of his son Francesco. Francesco, wishing to put a stop to the rebellion, granted the Spanish constitution, excepting only such modifications as it should be judged necessary to introduce into the national parliament of the future. With this concession, the revolutionary party were appeased, and entering the city of Naples with an immense concourse of people from the provinces, they defiled before the king and the royal family.

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[1] See C. A. Fyffe, "History of Modern Europe," first ed., 1896, pp. 413, *passim,* and H. M. Stephens, "Revolutionary Europe," ch. xi.

While the revolutionists were thus consolidating the new government and discussing the new laws to be adopted, the great powers of Europe held a new congress at Laybach in Carniola. They fancied that the revolution in Naples indicated a movement which threatened to upset the whole of Italy, and perhaps Europe itself; and in order to provide measures to stem the torrent, they invited Ferdinand to make his appearance at the congress. To this invitation he readily responded, and his departure was the sign for the breaking up of the revolutionary party in that city.

While these events were taking place in Naples, the Sicilians, excited by the same desire for liberty, became eager to render themselves independent of Naples, as they had been from 1806 to 1815. Accordingly, under the pretext of shaking off the yoke of the King of Naples, they revolted against the Neapolitan forces stationed at Palermo, released all the prisoners, began to sack the city, and killed all the Neapolitan royalists who fell into their hands. Many combats and great slaughter followed, both of the Neapolitans on the one side and Sicilians on the other.

While these tumults were being appeased and the constitutional government was being again consolidated, an unexpected incident dashed to the ground all hope of Italian independence. Hardly had Ferdinand arrived in Laybach than the resolution of the allied powers was made known, namely, that they would not recognize any change of government in Naples, and that the new constitution should be at once abolished. This resolution was immediately communicated to Francesco in Naples.

We may easily imagine what indignation and hatred was excited by this news. Tumults arose on every side, and numbers of the people declared themselves ready to defend the constitution against every assault. Meantime a report came that an army of fifty thousand Austrians was marching upon Naples. The Neapolitans, far from being terrified, prepared for a vigorous defense. Forty thousand regular soldiers, together with a host of irregulars, went out to meet the Austrians. Had this army been properly commanded, they would in all probability have been successful in their efforts. But there was no cohesion or agreement among them. Discords arose among the constitutionalists, and at the approach of the enemy the army fell to pieces, and the Austrians carried off the victory almost without a contest, entering Naples March 24, 1821.

General Pepe strove to organize a vigorous resistance, and on two occasions tried the fortune of arms; but, abandoned by his supporters, and deprived of all help, he was obliged to yield. After this the whole kingdom of the Two Sicilies gave in its submission to the legitimate sovereign; and so the Sicilian war was brought to an end, without leaving any trace behind except the memory of public and private misfortune. The Bourbon king took severe measures to punish his rebellious subjects, in all the ways so dear to the Bourbon heart. General Pepe took part afterward in other political movements, and was engaged in the war of independence, of which we have to speak further on. But fortune did not favor him. After some years of retirement, he died on a journey to the hills around Turin, near the church of St. Vitus, in the year 1857.

The revolutionary spirit excited in Naples naturally affected the neighboring pontifical states. Accordingly, when the Austrian army crossed the Po to march upon Naples, the Pope issued an edict, in which he stated that his prayers ascended to heaven that the scourge of war might be kept far from his country, and that if, by the inscrutable judgments of God, the people of Italy must be so afflicted, he as visible head of the Church, and a ruler essentially pacific, would observe a perfect neutrality toward all nations.

Thus Rome was preserved for the present from all the disasters of war. Although the Carbonari were scattered all through the papal dominions and attempted to excite rebellion, they were followed up and expelled. In Piedmont, however, better fortune awaited them, and especially in Turin, where they collected in great numbers. Here a general discontent began to be secretly entertained toward the actual government, which soon degenerated into a revolutionary spirit. Only an occasion of rebellion was wanted, and that soon presented itself.

Some students of the University of Turin had for several evenings created a noise in the theater, and on the evening of January 11, 1821, four of them made their appearance with red caps, which were then the distinctive mark of the most uncompromising revolutionists. The police getting notice of it, had them arrested at the close of the play. Their companions, to the number of three hundred, seeing what was done, flew to the rescue, shut themselves in the university quadrangle, and refused to leave until their companions were liberated. Some yielded at length to the threats of the police, and some remained obstinate, and they only consented to leave the place as a body when they saw the soldiers ready to fire.

These things only increased the general discontent, and the constitutionalists availed themselves of it to promote the revolution. A decision was come to in the city of Alessandria, that the Spanish constitution should be proclaimed, and with it the reëstablishment of the kingdom of Italy, which was to embrace the whole nation. Alessandria was the first to raise the tricolor and banner; and there they soon proclaimed a provisional government, to the cry of "Long live the king; long live Italy!" Fossano, Pinerolo, and a large portion of the territory of Turin, together with many of the captains and soldiers stationed in the capital, followed the revolutionary movement, which spread like wildfire all through the states. It is said that the revolutionists proposed to Charles Albert, Prince of Carignano, that he should place himself at the head of the movement, with the promise of being made King of Italy, and that for a time he gave his consent; but afterward, reflecting on his oath of fidelity to the legitimate sovereign, and suspecting that the whole movement was the work of the Carbonari, he thought better, and refused. Victor Emmanuel I. was at that time King of Sardinia, a prince who had already labored for some years for the welfare of his subjects. He was a man of thoroughly good intentions, and counting on the fidelity of his soldiers, hoped to repress the insurrection, which was at first quite insignificant. But when he heard that many of the cities and not a few of his own soldiers had joined the rebels, and that a civil war was imminent, he determined to abdicate in favor of his brother, Carlo Felice, who was then living at Modena. But not to leave the kingdom without a head, he nominated Charles Albert regent. After this he retired with his famliy to Nice, which remained loyal amid the general conflagration. Meantime, the tumult increased on every side. All was disorder in the capital. A crowd of insurgents scoured the streets, and collecting in the piazza, demanded the constitution with loud cries. The municipality, intimidated by these cries, sent a deputation to the prince, to say that, in view of the dangers which surrounded them, they considered it indispensable that the constitution should be granted.

Charles Albert yielded to their insistence, and coming forward upon the balcony of his palace, announced to the assembled multitude that the constitution should be proclaimed on the following day. Then, not being willing to betray the fealty he owed to the sovereign, he secretly absented himself from Turin, and took the road first to Novara, and then retired into Tuscany. The constitution was received with enthusiasm, and at once communicated to all the different states on the mainland.

The aim of the constitutionalists was to second the spirit of independence which had burst forth in Naples by attacking the Austrians and freeing Lombardy and Venetia, and they were persuaded that the Austrian army sent to quell it would be discomfited, and that an army from Piedmont and Lombardy would then finish the whole business, and proclaim Italy either a united kingdom or a republic. But as the new constitution in Naples had but a brief existence, so that of Piedmont was still briefer. The Piedmontese forces, which remained faithful to their sovereign, concentrated themselves at Novara, and the insurgents followed to attack them. But the Baron della Torre, who governed Novara, had by express order of the king demanded help from the Austrian general in Milan, who accordingly sent several battalions to his aid, in order that the Piedmontese should not have to fight against their own countrymen, and thus give rise to a civil war. No sooner did the constitutionalists perceive the Austrians issue forth from the gates of Novara than they took to flight, and the Baron della Torre marched upon Turin, and entering the city without any resistance, reëstablished the regal government as before. The heads of the revolution were condemned to death, but most of them escaped. Only two were arrested and capitally punished. Thus the whole movement collapsed, and in place of making a united Italy, only helped to disunite it still more. "The only result of the Piedmontese movement was that the grasp of Austria closed more tightly on its subject provinces."[2] Instead of liberating it from the Austrians, it only caused them to occupy in addition the citadel of Alessandria.[3]

The Neapolitan and Piedmontese revolutions of 1821 were repressed by military force, but the spirit of them still remained.

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[2] Fyffe, "Modern Europe," p. 503.

[3] See J. A. R. Marriott, "The Makers of Modern Italy," Lecture I., an excellent little book on the three greatest men in the unification of Italy—Mazzini, Cavour, Garibaldi.

The plan still was to make Italy into one united state, and drive all the kings of Italy from their thrones. This idea led to a second revolutionary attempt in 1831, which, however, was crushed out at its first appearance. Things went on with apparent tranquillity till the year 1847. In this year an enthusiasm for innovation was excited throughout all Italy. Pius IX. had been elected to the pontifical seat the year before, and his first act was to grant a general amnesty, and promote other reforms which he judged to be useful both to his own people and to the cause of religion. It was hoped he would grant a constitution, for it was not yet realized that an infallible Pope could not also be a constitutional ruler. These acts of clemency caused his name to be received everywhere with applause and admiration. The revolutionists seized the opportunity to spread anew through all Italy the tempting idea of raising it to one united kingdom, and driving their Austrian rivals out of Lombardy. To give effect to this enterprise, it was necessary to take up arms, and the cry arose on every hand, "Long live Italy, long live Pio Nono, and death to the Austrians!"

The Piedmontese helped on the movement as opportunity offered; but the Milanese were the first to take up arms to drive the Austrians out of the city, and actually commence the war of independence, in the famous "Five March Days," March 18-22, in which the citizens after desperate fighting succeeded in expelling the veteran Marshal Radetzky. The fact that the Piedmontese led by their king, Charles Albert, were now marching against him, decided Radetzky to retire to the shelter of the fortresses forming the Quadrilateral, of which Verona is best known.

This Charles Albert was the same prince who had proclaimed the Spanish constitution in the year 1821, and then renounced the project, either out of obedience to the legitimate sovereign, or out of a desire not to oppose the powers then in conference at Laybach, or for some other sufficient reason. In the year 1831 he ascended the throne on the death of Carlo Felice, and for eighteen years governed the country most benignly. His government, in fact, was that of a father rather than a sovereign, his whole care being to encourage good order and morality throughout his whole kingdom. In 1847 he introduced reforms into the mode of administering justice, and in the following year he published a new constitution, in which all his subjects were declared equal in the eye of the law. This "statute" is the present constitution of united Italy. The religion of the state was the Roman Catholic, but all other forms were tolerated, in conformity with the law.

Charles Albert then placed himself at the head of 100,000 men to aid the Milanese and maintain the war of independence. He imagined that all the other parts of Italy would also send help, and, in fact, the King of Naples did send 16,000 men into Lombardy, but it was only half-heartedly, and on the first opportunity he recalled them. The Pope sent a general (Durando) at the head of 10,000 men to join the national movement, but he too was acting under constraint of public opinion and recalled his troops as soon as possible, declaring himself neutral and thus dealing a heavy blow at the cause of independence. The Grand Duke of Tuscany also sent 6000 men to the aid of Charles Albert, but they were not able to join his army, inasmuch as on their way they were worsted in a skirmish with the Austrians.

Charles Albert, accordingly, was left chiefly to his own resources. But the fortune of arms at first smiled upon him, and he gained many advantages over the Austrians, who were obliged to entrench themselves in a favorable position and await reinforcements from Germany. On the other side of the Mincio are the four fortresses—Peschiera, Mantua, Verona, and Legnano—which occupy, so to say, the four angles of a quadrilateral. General Radetzky withdrew into the Quadrilateral, issuing out from time to time to harass the Piedmontese. But Peschiera was besieged by them and taken, and they advanced on Verona. Radetzky, who had received reinforcements, came out to meet them, and after several battles at last got the upper hand at Custozza, 1848, and followed the Piedmontese army up to Milan, where the king determined to fight anew. But the people of Milan took a hostile attitude, so that he withdrew to the other side of the Ticino. He then returned with his army into his own territory, and demanded an armistice, which was accordingly granted. Just at this moment Austria was in a critical state, for while Lombardy was in insurrection and the Piedmontese were under arms, Bohemia and Vienna were also in revolt, and were demanding a new constitution. Charles Albert, to terminate the strife, offered to give up Lombardy as far as the Mincio, but his ministers, elated by the successes before obtained, refused, and required both Lombardy and Venetia to be ceded to them.

Meantime the spring of 1849 approached, and Charles Albert, having lost neither courage nor hope of victory, sent to remind the Austrians that the armistice was come to an end, and took the field once more with a force of about 100,000 men. With this force he advanced toward the Ticino to meet the enemy, when General Ramorino, whose duty it was to defend the river wherever the Austrians could seek a passage, carelessly let them pass over. Having thus cut the Piedmontese forces in twain, the enemy under the command of Radetzky marched against the main wing, which was stationed near Novara.

There the two armies met. Several skirmishes ensued, which were in the main favorable to the Piedmontese, but on the third day (March 23, 1849) a pitched battle was fought at a village called Bicocca, near Novara. There the fight was maintained from early morning vigorously on both sides, but at about eleven o'clock the Austrians attacked the whole Piedmontese line with the greatest fury. The brigade of Savona, which led the van, was suddenly driven in, but being reinforced by the brigade of Savoy, it recovered lost ground and drove the enemy back. From this moment the fight became general on every side. Musketry, artillery, every species of arm pressed forward to the encounter. The reserves under the lead of the Duke of Genoa advanced to sustain the attack of the enemy, who already began to waver. The young prince exhibited wonderful courage and when several horses had been killed under him, continued to fight on foot. But his efforts were unavailing, and the Piedmontese were beaten; night came on, and the field of battle remained in the hands of the Austrians. Charles Albert showed the utmost bravery and courage throughout the day, but when he saw that the battle was lost, he assembled the chiefs of the army and spoke as follows: "As I can this day neither save Italy nor die as a soldier, my obligation to my country is ended. I can no longer render any service to my subjects, to whose happiness I have devoted eighteen years of my life, and therefore I lay down my crown and place it upon the head of my son and successor." In spite of every attempt to persuade the king to desist from this purpose, no one could shake his determination. "I thank you all," he added, "for the services you have rendered to the state, as well as to myself personally, but I am no longer king; your king is now my son, Victor Emmanuel."

After this event Charles Albert, oppressed with grief, and accompanied by one single servant, retired to Oporto, and there, suffering under the weight of misfortune and an old disease, died on July 26, 1849. The cause of the discomfiture at Novara is attributed mainly to the fault of General Ramorino, who was brought before a council of war and condemned to lose his life. This, then, terminated the first war of independence, and Piedmont had to pay down 72,000,000 francs as the price of peace. In 1848 also occurred another revolution in the Two Sicilies, and for a time a constitution was put in force, but within a few months King Ferdinand was able to overthrow it and to restore despotism once more in full vigor.

Chapter XLVI

POPE PIUS IX. AND THE ROMAN REPUBLIC. 1848-1859

WHILE all these misfortunes were being experienced in Piedmont, grave disasters were also preparing for Rome. We have already hinted that when Pius IX. came to the throne, and manifested liberal intentions in regard to the political state of Italy, every country was loud in his praise. And when at last the amnesty was declared, the transports of joy and applause among the people seemed to have no bounds. Thousands of exiles returning to their families prostrated themselves at his feet. These manifestations of esteem and love at first inspired the pontiff with many lofty designs, because he looked upon them all as signs of personal attachment. And, no doubt, in the majority of cases they were perfectly sincere; but neither the Pope nor his subjects realized the difficulties in the way of a constitutional papal state. "The slightest concession of an electoral right, be it only for a municipal council, . . . at once set up a subject's judgment against the sovereign's, a human judgment against the divine. Nor was there any loophole of escape from this terrible dilemma by devising any reasonable, or even arbitrary, distinction to separate the ecclesiastical from the material questions that concerned the life of the people. An instant's reflection will show that at every point there was a close association and intermingling that made such a distinction a practical impossibility." [1]

Many of those who had been busy with the revolution for some years before, now betook themselves to Rome in order to induce the Pope to declare war against the Austrians. His answer was equivocal. "Go," said he to the soldiers who went out to appease the tumults which were excited in various cities of the Romagna, "but do not pass beyond the frontiers of our states." On another occasion he said: "We comprehend your lively desire to induce me to declare war in order to drive foreign troops out of Italy;

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[1] Johnston, "The Roman Theocracy and the Republic," p. 56.

but let all the world know that we love the independence of Italy too well to imperil it by such a measure."

The result, however, was that the soldiers went to fight against the Austrians in Lombardy. But their courage was useless, and they had to return to Rome after having suffered great discomfiture. Then the cry was raised higher than ever, that the Pope should declare war against the Austrians, and the popular riot came to such a pitch that threats were thrown out about forming a provisional government in the city, whether the Pope agreed or not.

Pius IX. did not give way to these threats; and when he saw that several members of the Chambers, and even some of the ministry, favored the discontents, he thought it prudent to select a wise and courageous man to whom he might confide the presidency of his own government. This president was to be at the head of the ministry, and have the power of proposing to the sovereign and to the chambers any laws he should think necessary for the well-being of the state.

The person whom the Pope adjudged to be the most proper for this office was a certain Count Pellegrino Rossi. He was a native of Carrara, a man of prudent, penetrating mind, and to a knowledge of classical literature added a sound acquaintance with jurisprudence and philosophy. He had completed his studies at the age of fifteen, but being compromised by his political tendencies had been obliged to absent himself from his country. In all the different places which he passed through he manifested great ability in the management of important affairs, especially in France, from which country he was now sent as ambassador to the court of Rome. When, however, on his return to Italy, he perceived that things were taking a sinister aspect, he retired to private life, until the pontiff raised him to the office of president, in order to associate him with his own efforts to repress the disorders of his states. Rossi hesitated to accept this charge, and when one of his friends was urging him to do so, he put to him the following question:

"My friend, you have always counseled me well; tell me what I ought to do." "You ought to accept the office." "But it is a most dangerous position." "Reason the more to take it, and be sure that Providence will protect you." "His will then be done!" Then shaking him by the hand, he added, "On your advice I proceed," and going to the Pope, he at once accepted the office. "Rossi, as a vigorous and independent reformer, was as much detested in clerical and reactionary circles as he was by the demagogues and their followers." [2]

From that instant the new minister set himself courageously to arrange the affairs of Rome, and while he exerted himself for the civil reorganization of the state he opened negotiations in Naples, Florence, and Turin to form the basis of a national confederation of the Italian states. The revolutionists saw that Rossi was aiming at the establishment of law and order on its present basis, and feeling themselves no match for him in activity and skill in political affairs, they took the monstrous resolution of having him assassinated.

Count Rossi was not ignorant of this project, and well comprehended the opposition existing between himself and the secret societies, which ended so often in assassination. But notwithstanding this, he never flinched, because from the moment he had yielded to the invitation of Pius IX. he considered that he had sacrificed his life to the cause.

On the occasion of the opening of the Chambers, which met in accordance with the provisions of the long delayed constitution issued by Pius March 10, 1848, which transformed the papal despotism into a constitutional monarchy, the count gave the proper orders, so that the carbineers and soldiers should remain firm to their duties, and ready to execute all the commands given them. But he was told in reply that they would not depart from their first orders for any others sent to them by him or even by the Pope himself. To which he courageously answered, "I will not give up any measures necessary to defend the rights of the Holy See; if occasion require, I will myself mount my horse and fight against the factious. To reach the Pope they will have to pass over my own body."

On this the fury of the conspirators knew no limits, and they abstained from no kind of injury or violence, so that they might excite hatred against him. The plot was laid, and it was fixed that the count should be killed in the very act of going to the Chambers. On the arrival of that memorable day, November 15, 1848, at seven in the morning, his two sons came to ask for tickets to hear the debates. "I have none," he replied. "How is it," said the elder one, "that the first minister has no tickets? We must find other means of penetrating into the Chambers." "This I forbid you!" "But why so?" they replied. "Because it is my will.

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[2] Fyffe, "Modern Europe," p. 771.

You remain at your mother's side." Count Rossi said this because he presaged some grave event in the Chambers. The plot, however, could not be so secret but that some news of it got abroad, and several of Rossi's friends wrote to him; others went to warn him of the great danger to which he was exposed.

Arrived at the palace where the deputies were assembled, he saw that, in opposition to the orders issued, there was not a single carbineer to mount guard at the door, but that a body of civic guards had replaced them. At the entrance of the court there was a company of about sixty men covered with black cloaks. These all saluted the minister coldly, but kept perfect silence. Hardly had he dismounted from the carriage and advanced toward the crowd, when a man of middle age, with a white beard, tapped him with a stick upon one shoulder. This was the agreed signal. Rossi turned his head to see who might be the aggressor, and at the same moment an assassin buried his dagger in his neck. The minister fell without raising a cry, but at once rose again, put a handkerchief over the wound, and smiling at his servant, ascended mechanically the first steps of the staircase, which were bathed with blood. Then immediately he fell, never to rise again.

The news of the assassination was brought into the Chambers during the sitting, which, however, went on tranquilly discussing affairs as if nothing had happened, even while the body of the president was lying in a room close by. A portion of the deputies were no doubt accomplices in the evil deed. The French ambassador, the Duke of Arcourt, horrified by the indifference with which the house received the news of so atrocious a murder, left the house in indignation, saying, "Infamous! let us depart and not appear to share in this horrible indifference." In such wise was the assassination of Count Rossi—an act committed in the open day, and under the very eyes of those who were bound in honor to defend him.

After the assassination of Count Rossi, things went from bad to worse. The Pope, who had been charmed at the popularity won by his reforms, wished to go no farther; but he had no settled policy, except to resist the ever-increasing demands of the people. A priest named Ximenes, who one day defended the cause of the Roman pontiff, was another victim. A crowd of insurgents, scouring the piazzas, next assaulted the Quirinal, then occupied as the palace of the Pope, making demands which the Pope would not concede. He was, in short, besieged in his own house, his guards removed, cannon pointed to the entrance, and a general sack was threatened. Monsignore Palma, who was in a room adjoining the Pope, was struck by a musket ball, and fell dead on the spot.

One of the principal actors in the scene was Joseph Galletti. He was the son of a barber in Bologna, and for some time followed that business, until his father, perceiving his son's inclination for study, sent him to school. As a scholar he made good progress, and became a skillful advocate. But, being tired of study and books, he went into the army, and distinguished himself on various occasions by his firmness and courage. Being compromised in the political affairs of 1831, he went abroad, and after ten years' absence returned to promote the cause of the revolution. In Rome he was arrested and condemned to the galleys for life, but the sentence passed upon him was commuted to imprisonment within the Roman states. But the amnesty of Pius IX. now set him at liberty, for which act of grace he expressed the most unbounded gratitude. Carried away, however, by the present events, and by his attachment to the principles of the revolution, Galletti again became a leader among the insurgents. Pius IX. not being able to make head against the revolution, and being virtually a prisoner in his own palace, decided to escape from Rome. On the evening of November 24, 1848, the night being dark and the weather inclement, the Pope changed his dress, put on black shoes with silver buckles, dark trousers, a black waistcoat, and a large round hat. In this disguise, carrying a lantern in one hand, and accompanied by a single servant, he went out by a secret door, and having passed along various corridors, succeeded in eluding the vigilance of the guards who stood round the palace. At an appointed spot he met Count Spauro, ambassador of the King of Bavaria, who received him into his carriage. The carriage left Rome at a rapid pace, and by dint of a frequent change of horses and postillions they were driven over the frontiers of the Roman states and arrived safely at Gaeta. There they found Cardinal Antonelli and others who had come to assist the Pope in the present embarrassed state of affairs.

On the morrow, when the flight of the Pope was known in Rome, everything was thrown into confusion. The papal adherents feared the consequences of this sudden departure; the indifferent were astounded, because they had no expectation of any such measure being taken; and some hoped that now at length the Roman Catholic powers would interfere to reëstablish the pontiff on his throne. The revolutionists alone were filled with exultation.

To accomplish the purpose they had in view—that, namely, of proclaiming a republic—they began by forming a provisional government, which was termed the Junta. The municipal body, seeing things arrive at this pass, dissolved itself, and refused to take any part in the affair. The Chambers did the same, and within a few days most of the leading men in the government relinquished their posts.

Meantime things became worse and worse, and a state of complete anarchy appeared to be imminent. It was then that Galletti, president of the new assembly (which called itself the Roman Constituent), after having discussed in several sittings the form of government which should be adopted, proposed and signed the following decree: "The Papacy has fallen *de facto* and *de jure* from being the head of the Roman states. The national government will now take the glorious name of the Roman Republic." This decree was dated February 9, 1849.

The revolutionists of Tuscany, led by Mazzini, the chief of the party, also proclaimed a republic. Mazzini for this purpose left Florence for Rome, where he was received with acclamation. As the republic had already been proclaimed, and three chiefs were to be appointed at its head, he was named Triumvir in connection with two others, named Armellini and Saffi.

The Roman states were now in the greatest disorder. Many of the most influential citizens remained faithful to the old government, and not a few of the cities and villages throughout the states refused to yield allegiance to the new republic. The Pope received large supplies from the faithful, and the King of Naples showed the greatest solicitude that nothing should be wanting to him during his exile. No sooner did this prince hear that the Pope had fled to Gaeta, within the bounds of his own states, than he went immediately with the queen and the royal family to pay him their respects and offer him any aid that lay in their power.

The flight of the Pope from his dominions was an event of which the Roman Catholic powers could hardly fail to take cognizance. Spain was the first to make an open manifestation on the subject, which it did by sending the following missive to the Roman Catholic powers:

"The Government of Spain has decided to do whatever may be necessary to place the Pope once more in a condition of independence and dignity, so that he may be able to perform his sacred functions. For this purpose, since hearing of his flight from Rome, the Spanish Government has made application to France, which country has also declared itself ready to maintain the liberty of the holy father. Spain believes that the Roman Catholic powers cannot abandon the liberty of the Pope to the caprice of the city of Rome, or permit that, while other nations are ready to show deep respect to the pontiff, one single city of Italy should be allowed to outrage his dignity or place him in a condition of dependence which it might at any time take advantage of. These considerations induce her Majesty's Government to invite the other Roman Catholic powers to consider what measures ought to be adopted to avoid the evils which must follow if things are allowed to remain in their present state."

France, Portugal, Austria, Naples—all responded to this invitation from Spain. Only Piedmont and Tuscany refused to join this union of the Roman Catholic powers, in consequence of internal dissensions.

The allied powers having vainly employed all pacific means, now determined to intervene by force of arms to bring order into the papal states, and reconduct Pius IX. to his throne. The French were the first to get under arms and appear on the scene. While the French army was putting to sea, the Austrians advanced on the side of Lombardy to secure order in Tuscany and the Romagna. The Neapolitans undertook to repress all outbreaks on the confines of that kingdom, while the Spaniards came later and held themselves as a reserve force at the mouth of the Tiber. The French only marched to Rome, the center of hostilities.

While these events were taking place, the heads of the republican party prepared to make a desperate resistance. Garibaldi, a famous soldier of fortune, came to their aid at the head of 1500 picked men, who were received with enthusiasm by those who were at the head of the government of Rome.

The French, despite their courage, had to combat more than three months around the walls of Rome before they could enter the city. Many times they attempted to take it by assault, but were driven back by the besieged with great loss. Finally, on June 29, they overcame the barricades of the enemy, and by a desperate effort entered the city and obliged the revolutionists to lay down their arms, July 3.

The heads of the revolution, now losing all hope, were obliged to abandon Rome; and Oudinot, the commander-in-chief, immediately sent the keys of the city to Pope Pius IX. and set himself to work to restore order and tranquillity. No stipulation had, however, been made with the Pope during the siege as to the future institutions of Rome, and when on July 14, the restoration of papal authority was formally announced by Oudinot, Pius and his minister, Antonelli, still remained unfettered by any binding engagement.[3]

Congratulations were poured in from every quarter upon General Oudinot for his deliverance of Rome. One day, seeing a large number of ecclesiastics, led by Cardinal Castranace, coming to congratulate him, he received them warmly, and replied to their address in the following words:

" Signori, I thank you in the name of France and of the army for your good wishes. As for myself, I am well rewarded in having sustained the military honor of my country, and in having reëstablished order and tranquillity; and I am especially rejoiced in having rendered a service to the church, and to you who have had so much to suffer in these sorrowful days just passed. Now we will all work together to blot out the memory of these calamities and restore order to the state. Your long experience of the country is especially valuable to me. I count upon your aid and your light. The army and the clergy are the two great means of safety for the future."

Amid the great joy of the civil and ecclesiastical authorities, as well as of General Oudinot and the army, a solemn *Te Deum* was then chanted; and when the pontifical army was again seen approaching, there was one cry of delight from all present.

When the keys of the city were put into the hands of Pius IX., he knew then that Rome and the Roman states were again placed under the power of the legitimate sovereign, and that he could once more ascend the throne. This result was the more pleasing, and appeared to be the more secure and lasting, inasmuch as things had been brought into order in Piedmont, where Victor Emmanuel had now become king; while the Austrians, after having fought against the revolution in many of the Roman cities, had succeeded in putting it down in Tuscany, and restoring the Grand Duke Leopold to his dominions. How little was it then surmised that within a few years the power of the reinstated sovereigns would crumble beneath their feet; that Garibaldi, driven from Rome by the French bayonets, would reënter Naples as a conqueror; and that Victor Emmanuel, himself heading the revolution, would be proclaimed king of a united Italy.

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[3] Fyffe, "Modern Europe," p. 779.

The French, after having reseated the Pope once more upon his throne, returned in part to their own country, leaving, however, a garrison in Rome sufficient to quell any disorders that might afterward arise. The Austrians also continued to keep their eye upon the papal states on the Lombard side. Consequently, from the return of the Pope to Rome down to the year 1859 there were no political events of any consequence which took place throughout Italy generally. The events that followed were of minor importance, yet sufficiently grave to merit some attention. The first we shall relate is the assassination of the Duke of Parma, by name Ferdinand Charles III., who "renewed the traditions of his house by an arbitrary and dissolute régime." [4]

On the evening of March 26, 1854, this prince was returning from a short stroll to his palace. Just as he got to an angle of the street, some unknown person who was standing in ambuscade knocked against him, and an instant after, plunged a dagger into his bosom, and fled, leaving the dagger in the wound. The duke fell as though dead; his adjutant raised him up and drew the dagger away from the body, and thus he was carried amid a crowd of bystanders to his palace. The wound was pronounced to be mortal, and the prince was evidently in imminent peril of his life. Being asked if he knew who the assassin was, he said: "This person is certainly not one belonging to Parma; he has been following me for three days. I have seen him standing in front of me, at my back, and at my side; but I pardon him from my heart. God's will be done! I receive my death in penitence for my sins." He expired twenty-three hours after, at the age of thirty-one, leaving as heir a son six years of age under the regency of his mother.

Some months after this a great calamity spread itself all through Italy, namely, the invasion of the Asiatic cholera. A large part of the country was desolated by this plague. In the year 1855 the same disease returned, but not with the same degree of virulence. The number of deaths was fearful. Another scourge which appeared about this time was the vine disease, called *critogama*, which afflicted many parts of the country, but especially Piedmont.

[4] W. J. Stillman, "The Union of Italy," p. 196.

This disease showed itself by the appearance of very minute insects, which covered the young leaves as though with an ash-dust. From the leaves they passed to the young fruit, preventing it from growing and maturing. For fifteen years the country was visited by this calamity, until it was discovered that a sprinkling of sulphur prevented the infection.

At the beginning of 1855 Piedmont suffered an affliction such as cannot be paralleled in the whole history of Italy. Within a very brief period five persons of the royal house of Savoy died, among whom were the queen, Maria Theresa, mother of Victor Emmanuel, and Adelaide, the queen-consort. All good citizens bewailed their loss, but the poor were inconsolable, for these royal matrons were called the mothers of the poor, and indeed there was no kind of misery which they were not ready to succor. Hardly were their obsequies performed when the Duke of Genoa, he who had fought so bravely in the war of independence, was struck down. A few months before one of the king's sons had died, and soon after a second son was carried to his tomb.

Chapter XLVII

GROWTH OF ITALIAN UNITY. 1849-1861

THE ten years which followed the conclusion of the wars we have above narrated were not marked by any internal commotions. Piedmont, under the reign of Victor Emmanuel and the guidance of her greatest statesman, Count Cavour, went steadily forward consolidating her power and extending her influence. To take her proper place also among the other European powers, Piedmont allied herself with France and England in the war against Russia, which ended in the taking of Sebastopol, and the opening of the Black Sea to the commercial enterprise of Europe. The Piedmontese contingent of 20,000 men under General La Marmora aided greatly in the victory which the allies gained over the Russians on the River Tchernaya, and reaped its full share of glory in the whole of that remarkable war. But the peace concluded in 1849 between Piedmont and Austria after the disastrous battle of Novara was rather an armistice than a peace properly so called, for the animosities on either side remained too great to allow any hope of a real reconciliation. The chief cause of the rancor was the idea constantly kept up of making Italy into one united kingdom. Austria well knew the working of this idea, and lived in continual fear of being molested in the possession of Lombardy and Venice. These two provinces were in continual agitation, and therefore guarded by a large number of armed men, ready at every emergency to keep order and to defend themselves in case of attack. "With the great work of Italian unification four names will to all time be connected in inseparable association . . . Mazzini, Cavour, Garibaldi . . . and Victor Emmanuel, the first King of United Italy."[1]

But what had been working for ten years as a mere idea, began about the end of the year 1858 to take a more substantial form. In the powerful armaments which Austria was making in the Lombardo-Venetian territory, Piedmont could see nothing but a threatening of war, and began to arm herself in opposition. Meantime the report became more widely accredited that an attempt would really be made to release this territory from the Austrian rule. Still, so far, it was only hearsay. The beginning of the war may be really dated from some words spoken by Napoleon III. to Baron Hübner, Austrian ambassador in Paris, in his reception on January 1, 1859. In these words some only saw a simple remonstrance with Austria, but others took them as in indication of war, and facts soon showed that these had not deceived themselves. From that moment Austria began greatly to augment her forces in Italy. Piedmont in like manner began to arm herself vigorously, and France, giving no further account of the reasons which were influencing her policy, joined with Piedmont against the Austrians. According to the informal agreement between Cavour and Napoleon III., "there was to be joint war with Austria: Italy was to be free 'from the Alps to the Adriatic' and as the price of French assistance, Savoy and Nice were to be 'reunited' to France. It was a heavy price to pay, but it bought eventually much more than Napoleon intended. It bought the union of Italy."[2] While these warlike preparations were going on an attempt was made to assemble a congress of the great powers to arrange the affairs of Italy without bloodshed, but it proved a failure. England also made proposals for reconciliation, but they did not obtain any more success than that of the congress. In the speech from the throne, January 10, 1859, King Victor Emmanuel said: "'The situation is not exempt from danger, for, while respecting treaties we cannot disregard the cry of grief (*grido di dolore*) which rises to us from so many parts of Italy. Strong in union, confident in our right, we await with prudence and resolution the decrees of Providence.' The speech was enthusiastically applauded in the assembly: it echoed throughout Europe."[3]

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[1] Marriott, "Makers of Modern Italy," pp. 3 and 4.

Accordingly, on April 23, Austria threatened to invade Piedmont unless she agreed within three days to a general disarmament, and on her refusal to do this war was formally declared on April 27, 1859. On the very same day French troops began to arrive in Genoa, while others began to march into Italy by way of Mont Cenis. The first generals of France led the troops and Napoleon put himself at their head.

The Austrians passed the Ticino on April 29, and advanced toward Mortara, Novara, and Vercelli, limiting themselves to levy-

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[2] Stillman "The Union of Italy," p. 285. [3] Stillman, *Ibid.* p. 287.

THE FIRST MEETING BETWEEN KING VICTOR EMMANUEL AND GARIBALDI

Painting by C. Ademollo

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ing imposts of food, cattle, and money in the places through which they passed. Then after a slight skirmish at Fassineto, on the Po, near Casale, the enemy advanced on to Tortona, Voghera, and Biella, but no real battle took place before May 20. On that day there was a sharp combat at Montebello, near Casteggio, and a short distance from the Po, in which the Austrians were worsted. On May 30, there was a great battle at Palestro, in which the allies, led by Victor Emmanuel, displayed great courage and took a large number of prisoners. The battle of Magenta, fought on June 4, was still more severe, the Austrians being completely routed, leaving many dead on the field and many prisoners in the hands of the allied forces. After these successes Victor Emmanuel and the Emperor Napoleon made their entry into Milan on June 8. The next day they gained another victory near the celebrated village of Marignano. But the decisive battle was fought at Solferino and San Martino, two little villages near the Mincio, which divides Lombardy from the Venetian territory. The battle there fought was such as reminds us of the times of Aetius and Attila. The Emperor Napoleon, the King of Sardinia, and the Emperor of Austria commanded their respective armies in person. The fighting began at Solferino on June 24, at four in the morning. On the issue of this battle depended the glory or the disgrace of two nations, standing as they did side by side. The Austrians had the best position, and were favored by the nature of the locality, and at first gained various advantages, while the French and the Piedmontese suffered great loss. Up to three o'clock the victory seemed to lean toward the side of the Austrians, when the allies, favored by a violent storm which came on, assailed the enemy with so much vehemence and courage that after great slaughter the victory remained in their hands.

The losses were frightful on both sides. The enemy had to retire across the Mincio and take refuge in a plain defended by the four fortresses of Mantua, Peschiera, Verona, and Legnano. This formed a most impregnable position against any further attacks, and the allies, though hitherto victorious, thought it best to agree to an armistice in order to bury the dead, tend the wounded, and repair the devastation occasioned on that memorable day. "At this point diplomacy began its paralyzing operations and Napoleon III. . . . halted and began to temporize." His victories had been hardly won and he was appalled at the loss of life; then, too, Prussia began to assume a hostile attitude; but probably what influenced him most strongly was the spread of revolutionary movements in Central Italy, looking to union under the house of Savoy, threatening the Pope's states, and thereby arousing the Roman Catholic party in France to urge a halt on Napoleon. On July 8 the armistice of Villafranca was concluded, suspending hostilities to August 8.

An interview was therefore arranged with the Emperor of Austria at Villafranca, on July 11, at which were signed the preliminaries of a peace which was afterward definitely concluded at Zurich. The most important points of the treaty were these: The Emperor of Austria ceded to the French all his rights over Lombardy, except the fortresses of Mantua and Peschiera, while the Emperor of the French resigned the conquest made by his arms into the hands of the King of Sardinia. "This peace . . . satisfied nobody, because after it, as before, Italy was incomplete."[4]

Thus a war which seemed as though it would be of long duration terminated when least expected, and the sunshine of peace again appeared. The French having achieved a glorious victory, returned to their country, and Piedmont set to work to consolidate its government in the new provinces. The aggrandizement of the kingdom of Sardinia, however, by the addition of Lombardy, was counterbalanced by the cession of Savoy and Nice to the French Empire.

Thus ended a war which, while it gave enlarged dominion to Italy, was far from realizing the first promise of the French emperor that Italy was to be freed from all foreign domination from sea to sea.

The Treaty of Villafranca came as a fearful disappointment and a fatal blow to all the hopes and aspirations of the Italian people. They had relied upon the promise of Napoleon that Italy should be free from sea to sea; they now saw that the brightest chance that had ever occurred since the old Roman times of a free and united country had suddenly collapsed, and left them almost in the same condition as they were before the war began. The Treaty of Zurich, which followed soon after, did not at all improve the prospect. Lombardy, it is true, was joined to the kingdom of Sardinia. But it was stipulated that Venetia should still be left in the hands of the Austrians. It was still further agreed that all the legitimate sovereigns should be allowed to return to their small principalities. "On the first proclamation of the war, the Grand Duke of Tuscany had been compelled to fly from his states, . . . and the provisional government in Florence, previously instituted under Bettino Ricasoli, suddenly averred its intention of uniting Tuscany to Piedmont. . . . The duchies of Parma and Modena had also been deserted by their dukes, and the papal legates had to quit Romagna, whose inhabitants now suddenly announced their fusion with Piedmont, . . . and to the cry of 'Victor Emmanuel,' the Marches and Umbria revolted against the pontiff, but in these regions the movement was sanguinely repressed by the Swiss troops."[5] It was also agreed that a confederation of states should be made in central Italy, of which the Pope was to be the recognized head. There was one stipulation, however, which seemed still to open a door of hope to the Italian patriots, and that was the article in the treaty which absolutely forbade a foreign army to enter any of the Italian states for the sake of carrying out its provisions.

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[4] Stillman, "The Union of Italy, p. 293.

But the Council of Zurich had now decided that these events were to be wholly disregarded, and the reigning families all reinstated in their dominions. Had such a compact been enforced by military power on the part of France and Austria, the horizon would have appeared dark indeed, and the aspirations of Italy after unity and freedom would have been nipped in the bud. But as no force could now be employed to follow up the decisions of the conference, the Piedmontese government, with Rattazzi at the head, quietly pursued their purpose of annexation, assimilating the laws and institutions in all the different states, so that annexation should come before the political world of Europe as a *fait accompli*. Napoleon wrote letter after letter to urge the necessity of carrying out the programme agreed upon by the powers, but to no effect; so that, wearied with the effort of giving useless advice, he at length recommended a European congress to settle the whole question, based, however, upon the condition of complete non-intervention with arms.

At this juncture Cavour again came forward to preside over the councils of Piedmont, for he had been so outraged by the armistice of Villafranca that he had given up his post in disgust when the king, with better judgment, had bowed to the sad necessity of accepting the terms of Napoleon. With the extraordinary sagacity with which he was endowed, he brought over France and England to his views; and showing the impossibility of forcing the population of central Italy to receive again the reactionary governments which they had expelled from their respective capitals, unless, indeed, by the application of military force, he fell back upon the idea of a *plebiscite* as the very ground on which Napoleon himself laid claim to his own position as Emperor of the French.

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[5] P. Orsi. "Modern Italy," pp. 264, 365.

This *plebiscite* was taken on the 11th and 12th of March, 1860, the choice being between annexation to the constitutional kingdom of Victor Emmanuel or having a separate government. In Bologna and the Romagna, formerly under the papal rule, there were 202,650 votes for annexation and 245 for separate government. In Modena there were 131,818 for annexation, and 213 for the contrary. In Parma there were 91,466 votes for annexation and 209 for a separate rule. Lastly, in Tuscany, where the feeling for retaining the independence of the duchy was supposed to be strong, there were 386,445 voices for annexation and only 14,925 for separation. All Europe was astonished at this result, and began at length to comprehend the strength of the national aspirations after unity and peace.

The only drawback to the brighter prospect now open before them was the separation of Savoy and Nice from a country and a dynasty of which Savoy had been the cradle, but both of which now by a vast majority of voices due to very vigorous pressure from the Italian Government voted for annexation to France. Thus the principle of nationality was allowed to prevail on both sides of the Alps, and Napoleon accepted the two coveted provinces as a bribe for non-intervention in the national movements of central Italy. Victor Emmanuel was constrained by circumstances, and chiefly by the continued hostility of Austria, to bow gracefully to this decision, although he is reported to have said: "If Austria were not on my heels, by the Almighty I would not have yielded Nice and Savoy to France—not if I had been obliged to march an army in their defense!"

The new Parliament, with members chosen from Lombardy, Tuscany, and the other annexed states, was opened on April 1 in Turin. The king in his opening speech said: "Italy is no longer an open field for the ambition of foreigners: from this time it belongs to the Italians themselves. We shall have many obstacles to surmount; but held up by public opinion and by the affection of the people, I will not allow any of our rights to be violated or diminished. Attached as my ancestors have always been to the Roman Catholic faith and the Pope, nevertheless, if the ecclesiastical authority will have recourse to arms for its temporal interests, I shall find in my conscience and in the traditions of my family the force necessary to maintain our civil liberties as well as my own authority intact, and shall have to answer for this only to my own people and to God."

The first act of the assembly was to vote the annexation of central Italy, which was done with universal acclamation. The Pope hurled an excommunication against the authors of the spoliation of his dominion; but as he did not name who these authors were, the measure remained without any effect.

The results of the events already described were not long in making their appearance in various parts of the peninsula. The northern and central parts of Italy, with exception of the Venetian territory, now seemed to see their hopes already fulfilled, and it was only natural that South Italy and Sicily should catch some portion of the enthusiasm which was pervading those more fortunate regions. A new king, Francesco II., had just ascended the throne of the Two Sicilies, one who inherited all the reactionary tendencies, and at the same time all the irresolution, which characterized so many of the Bourbon family. Under the régime of this prince the heads of the police began to exercise a galling, and not unfrequently a brutal tyranny, more especially so in Sicily, under the direction of one Maniscalco. The Sicilians, always an excitable people, were driven to revolt, and made several attempts at insurrection, which were at once put down by violence and cruelty. Driven thus from the towns, the insurgents wandered in small bands among the mountains, after the manner of brigands. But the news of these futile attempts soon made its way throughout Italy, when their importance was at once exaggerated, and made to appear almost in the light of a great popular revolution.

Garibaldi, who always made his appearance on the scene whenever storms seemed to be gathering, now determined to seize the opportunity to aid the Sicilian insurgents, and thus to spread the revolutionary movement throughout the dominions of the King of Naples. For this purpose Garibaldi went to Genoa, as the most convenient port of embarkation, and by letters and messages called his old companions of the "red shirt" together to join in the new enterprise. Two of his right-hand men, Farini and Bixio, now came to his assistance, and by their united counsel they determined to take possession of two large steamers belonging to the Florio Company, then lying in the port of Genoa, embark their forces, and set out for their destination. The Italian Government made some feeble protest against these proceedings, to save appearances and silence foreign remonstrances; but they secretly gave it their support, and under the pretext of watching the movements of the Garibaldians, they sent two men-of-war after them to shield them from any calamity they might meet with on the way.

Garibaldi, accordingly, "finally decided by the arguments and assurances of (Francesco) Crispi, to whom the preparation of the insurrection in general and especially in its Sicilian details was chiefly due,"[6] set sail May 6 with about 1000 armed men, and having made a brief diversion on the Roman territory, soon arrived off the port of Marsala. Here they found some ships of the Neapolitan fleet ready to bar their progress and attack them, as being wholly incapable of defense. But the English admiral, Munday, was on the spot with several armed vessels, "and it is very probable that the notorious sympathy of England for the Sicilians induced the Neapolitans to believe that the ships were prepared to support the landing and temporarily paralyzed them."[7] In the meantime, Garibaldi with his followers disembarked, drew up his small forces on the land, and proclaimed himself dictator of the island of Sicily. A number of the Sicilians soon flocked to his standard, and in the first encounter he had with the royal troops he came off victorious.

As the enthusiasm now increased, Garibaldi determined to march upon Palermo. By some clever manipulation of his troops he succeeded in drawing the royalist army away from the town, and entered it himself with his scanty followers. A frightful scene of confusion and bloodshed ensued, and after a fearful but fruitless bombardment an armistice was agreed to on board an English warship. "Never perhaps in the daring life of Garibaldi was his splendid audacity so conspicuously shown as on this occasion. . . . This audacity cowed the royalists, and a treaty was concluded by which the Neapolitans agreed to evacuate Palermo" June 6.[8]

But Garibaldi was not inclined to remain inactive in Palermo. He started a few days after for Messina, met General Bosco with a company of royalist troops on the way, and gained a decisive victory over him, so that all the cannon and other munitions of war sent to oppose him at once fell into his hands. After this stroke of good fortune nothing seemed to oppose his progress, and the whole of the island virtually accepted Garibaldi as dictator.

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[6] Stillman, "The Union of Italy," p. 312.

[7] Stillman, *Ibid.*, p. 313.

[8] Stillman, *Ibid.*, p. 315.

But the task he had set himself to perform was, as yet, only half completed. Sicily had fallen into his hands, but the kingdom of Naples yet remained to be conquered. He determined, therefore, to pass the Straits of Messina with his army, and raise the whole south against the Bourbon government.

King Francesco, feeling anything but secure in his own dominions, appealed to Louis Napoleon for his intervention. Napoleon replied, counseling him to make extreme reforms, to give a free constitution to Naples, to form an alliance with Victor Emmanuel, and to enter generally into coöperation with the national party. But while he was considering what concessions he was prepared to make, the time had passed by, and the revolution was at his heels. He then applied to Victor Emmanuel, but the conditions there propounded were not acceptable. He next turned his face toward England, but England showed sympathy, as it always had done, with the national movement, and would not interfere.

What with the men whom Garibaldi had collected in Genoa, and the additions he had made to these in Sicily, he commanded at the beginning of August about 10,000 soldiers, while the King of Naples, besides the fleet, had above 100,000 at his disposal. But Garibaldi knew that a large portion of them were demoralized, and counted on the defection of a great number more as soon as they should be confronted with his own red-shirted combatants. Provided, then, with these troops, he sent a colonel with a small detachment across the Straits of Messina to excite the people and draw away the attention of the troops who were watching his movements on the mainland. This done, he embarked his troops on August 19 at Taromisia, and passing through the enemy's cruisers by favor of night, ran ashore at Capo delle Arme early in the morning. His first move was to unite himself with the detachment which had preceded him, and march upon Reggio. Here a sharp conflict ensued, but the Neapolitan soldiers, as soon as they saw Garibaldi at the head of his men, threw down their arms and took to flight, leaving the town and all the warlike stores it contained in the hands of the enemy. After this first success the fever began to spread far and wide, until within a few days after his arrival all Calabria, Puglia, and the Abruzzi opened their gates before him as to a conqueror.

In Naples all was confusion. The king showed, as usual, nothing but irresolution; his counselors were in dismay, seeing the approach of the storm, and no preparations to stem the torrent of enthusiasm which it was sure to call forth. And now the report was brought that Garibaldi had arrived at Salerno; and not only this, but that all the royalist troops, which ought to have barred his passage, only lowered their arms to let him pass onward. The king now saw that it was vain to organize any resistance in Naples, and determined to leave the city and take refuge in the fortresses of Capua and Gaeta.

Hearing of the king's flight, Garibaldi left the main body of the army behind and hastened with only a few followers to reach the capital, trusting to the magic of his name and his good fortune to secure him a safe entrance. Nothing could have been better calculated. Garibaldi entered the city September 7 with only half a dozen friends and supporters, amid the universal cheers and shouts of the whole population. Thus it was that a kingdom which had lasted above eight hundred years now fell almost without striking a blow, under the prestige of a popular leader, aided by the enthusiasm which had been created by the party of action in favor of a free and a united Italy. "Before sunset September 7 the flag of Italy was hoisted by the Neapolitan fleet."

We must now direct our attention to the papal states to see what was passing there. The Pope, perceiving the revolution to be fast gaining ground throughout southern Italy, became apprehensive lest the fever would soon reach his own dominions, and thought, therefore, that it was high time to take measures to arrest it before it should become irresistible. "Garibaldi made no secret of his intention to carry the Italian arms to Rome. The time was past when the national movement could be checked at the frontiers of Naples and Tuscany. It remained only for Cavour to throw the king's own troops into the papal states before Garibaldi could move from Naples" and to seize the Marches and Umbria, leaving to the Pope a narrow strip along the western coast, which Napoleon regarded as under his especial guarantee.[9] The Pope was eagerly seconded by Monsignore de Merode, a distinguished Belgian, who had now become a prelate and attached to the papal court. His idea was to preach a kind of crusade in favor of Pius IX. throughout Europe against what he termed the new Islamism, and excite all the latent fervor of every country in favor of the papal authority. The programme he marked out was to form an army by the agency of money and men drawn from the whole of Roman Catholic Europe, all being most uncompromising advocates of the temporal power.

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[9] Fyffe, "Modern Europe," p. 900.

To give substance and *éclat* to this movement, he induced Lamoricière, a famous French general, celebrated for his valor and skill in the African wars, to take the command and carry on the conflict. Elated by the presence of so celebrated a leader, a large number of the most rabid partisans of the Pope responded to the appeal, and came together from France, Belgium, Germany, and Ireland,—mostly mere adventurers, with no unity of thought, purpose, or language, except the one single idea of reinstating the Pope in the whole of his temporal dominions. The ulterior aim of the abettors of this scheme was to raise up a power in central Italy which should oppose the progress of national unity, and recover to the cause of legitimacy the provinces which had already joined themselves to Piedmont.

The government of Victor Emmanuel saw quite plainly that such a movement on the part of the Pope and his counselors must be fraught with extreme danger both to the kingdom of Sardinia itself and to all the nascent aspirations of the south; and they at once determined to march an army into Umbria and the Marches, to make head against this crowd of foreign invaders. It was the more necessary to do so at this moment, inasmuch as things appeared very doubtful in Naples, and it was of the utmost importance to keep a communication open between the north and the south, so that they could appear rapidly on the scene should military support be necessary to back up the party of annexation. The army was soon in the field in two large divisions, one of which, under General Cialdini, went along the shores of the Adriatic into the Marches, while the other, under Generals Fanti and Della Rocca, occupied the valley of the Tiber. Cialdini soon made himself master of Urbino, Senegaglia, and all the country around, as there was no force of any consequence to resist his progress, and the population, detesting the papal government, were only too glad to open their gates to their deliverers. Fanti, on the other hand, marched upon Perugia, where was stationed General Schmidt, with a considerable force of papal troops, who had treated the inhabitants in the most infamous manner and incurred their hatred. An assault was made by General Fanti without the least delay, who soon got possession of the town and took the whole garrison with Schmidt himself prisoners of war. Lamoricière, seeing the progress made by the royalists, and feeling but little confidence in the stability of his heterogeneous followers, determined to fall back upon Ancona and there organize his army for future service; but no sooner had the advanced guard arrived at Castelfidardo than it was met by Cialdini and forced to an encounter, in which they were utterly routed, General Pimodan being mortally wounded, and the troops under his command being either dispersed or made prisoners.

General Lamoricière, who brought up the main body of the army, did not fare very much better. After a short resistance fearful disorder began to show itself among the soldiers: a whole regiment of them refused to fight; a company of foreign recruits turned and fled, and the unfortunate general had at length to save himself also by a precipitate flight On arriving at Ancona he found his army dwindled down to a few hundred men, and these confronted by a hostile fleet. After a few days he was obliged to give up all hope of resistance, and to remain a prisoner in the hands of the enemy, September 28. Thus twenty days sufficed to annihilate the whole scheme which had been formed in the Vatican for stemming the torrent of Italian revolution, and Victor Emmanuel held all Italy but Rome as far as the Abruzzi.

While these events were transpiring in central Italy, Francesco, King of Naples, had time to collect his forces from different parts of his dominions and concentrate them in Capua and along the River Volturno. Garibaldi, whose army was still comparatively small, and wholly wanting in artillery, sent to Victor Emmanuel for assistance, both in men and munitions of war, to enable him to complete the conquest of the Two Sicilies. But as the royal troops were engaged, as we have seen, in opposing the army of Lamoricière, they were unable to hasten farther south to support the revolutionary movement. Garibaldi accordingly determined to try the fortune of war, and marched upon Capua. The Bourbons, fearing the speedy arrival of the national army, lost no time in answering the summons, and after a few days' skirmishing they came to a general engagement on the banks of the Volturno, October 1, 1860. The battle was sustained with undiminished valor on both sides for the whole day, but toward evening the victory declared itself on the side of Garibaldi, and the enemy had to retire upon Capua and thence to Gaeta.

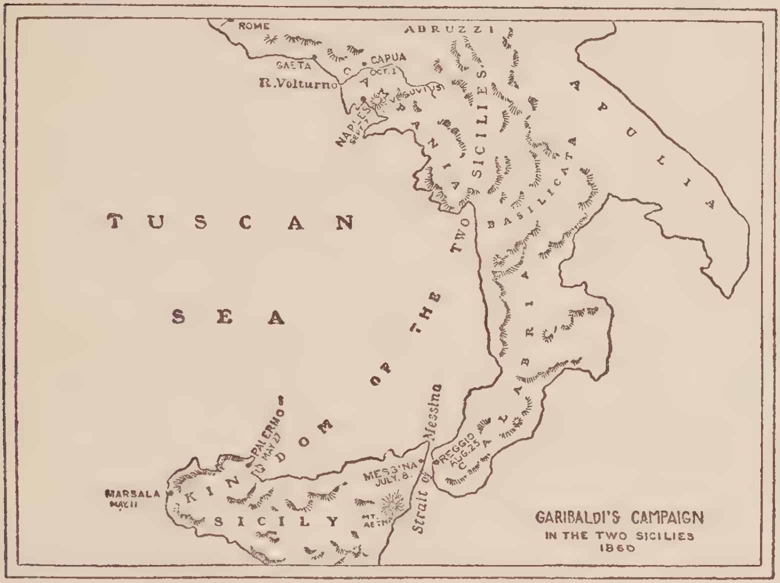
Garibaldi was now left sole dictator at Naples, and at once began to institute reforms in all the governmental and social arrangements of the kingdom. He expelled the Jesuits, proclaimed perfect religious liberty, instituted schools, and began a general plan of reform throughout all the institutions of the country. The republican party, which had been hitherto led by Mazzini, and with which Garibaldi always felt the greatest sympathy, now began to agitate the question of the future government of Naples. Their primary object was to prevent the annexation of the Two Sicilies to the kingdom of Victor Emmanuel, and to preserve it as a center of republican institutions from which the more generalpolicy of a united Italian republic could be proclaimed and agitated. But Garibaldi, although he was far too earnest a patriot to endanger the fortunes of Italy by any hasty adoption of republican institutions, fell more and more into the hands of the so-called party of action and insisted that union must be postponed till all Italy was free. In this plan he was at direct odds with the royal government and with the southern patriots, who demanded immediate union. But finally the policy of Cavour, the sentiments of the people, and the difficulties which now beset him on all sides, as soon as the substance of power came into his hands, showed him clearly the absolute necessity of following the same system as that which had been adopted in all the other Italian states, and of appealing to a *plebiscite* to determine the question between annexation and autonomy in the southern provinces. The *plebiscite* was held on October 21, 1860, and the result exceeded the most sanguine expectations of the national party. In Naples there were 175,464 votes for annexation and 1600 for an independent republic, in Palermo 20,232 against 20, and in some of the other towns every single voice was raised in favor of Italian nationality.

On this result being made known, Victor Emmanuel at once crossed the frontier and marched toward Naples to render assistance to the forces of Garibaldi and complete the conquest of the country. All the towns through which he passed greeted the king with acclamations of joy, and the population even of the most distant villages pressed forward to offer him their homage. On arriving near Capua he was met on the road by Garibaldi, and there the most cordial greetings were exchanged between the two foremost actors in the whole history of the movement toward Italian unity. On November 7, the king made his entrance into Naples, accompanied by Garibaldi, amid the most enthusiastic acclamations of the whole city. The next day he received a deputation, who gave him the result of the *plebiscite,* and invited him to assume the government of the whole of southern Italy. Garibaldi, on his part, wished to keep the dictatorship for a year previous to the formal annexation; but Victor Emmanuel, fearing he might compromise the country in the eyes of Roman Catholic Europe by an imprudent attack upon Rome, withheld his consent, and Garibaldi, considering his work completed, retired to his cottage in Caprera.

The southern kingdom was now entirely in the hands of the king, with the single exception of Gaeta, where Francesco still kept up the remains of his army, ready to reassert his authority whenever occasion offered. But Cialdini marched his army to besiege this last stronghold, and soon obliged the ex-king to retire to Rome, leaving the whole kingdom of the Sicilies now formally annexed to the kingdom of Italy (February 14, 1861). This last expression was the title now assumed; and in place of Victor Emmanuel being styled King of Sardinia, he was proclaimed, on March 18, as King of Italy by the grace of God and by the will of the nation. "The united Italy had . . . suddenly become a fact. . . . But the young nation was unformed. It had problems to face which would test its wisdom and self-restraint more than all the work of emancipation had done. . . . 'To harmonize north and south,' said Cavour, 'is harder than fighting Austria or struggling with Rome.'"[10] But before all else stood the question of Rome, for Rome, the ancient capital, was still in the hands of the Pope, and consequently inaccessible to the national authority. Cavour, with his usual sagacity, proceeded to solve this last point in the most remarkable manner. On March 25, 1861, he delivered a famous speech in the Parliament at Turin, in which he declared that Rome was to all intents and purposes the proper capital of Italy, and maintained the famous doctrine of a "free church in a free state." To reconcile the Roman Catholic powers to this policy, he proposed to give the Pope perfect freedom of action in all spiritual matters, while reserving for the kingdom of Italy the

[10] B. King, "Hist. of Italian Unity," vol. ii. pp. 182-183.

prestige of its ancient capital. This was the last act of Cavour's eventful life. Toward the last of May he was seized with an illness which terminated his life on June 6, 1861. "With the passing away of the Pope's temporal power, Cavour imagined that the constitution of the church itself would become more democratic, more responsive to the movement of the modern world. . . . Cavour had never ceased to cherish the ideal of a national church which, while recognizing its head in Rome, should cordially and without reserve accept the friendship of the Italian state."[11] His sorrow would have been very bitter had he lived to know the present attitude of the Roman Church to united Italy. "Nevertheless the cautious spirit will be slow to conclude that hopes like Cavour's were wholly vain. A single generation may see but little of the seed-time, nothing of the harvests that are yet to enrich mankind."[12]



GARIBALDI'S CAMPAIGN
IN THE TWO SICILIES
1860

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[11] Fyffe, "Modern Europe," p. 906.
[12] Fyffe, *Ibid.* p. 907.

Chapter XLVIII

THE QUESTION OF ROME. 1862-1866

THE question of the occupation of Rome now became the question of the day. Ricasoli, who followed Cavour as prime minister, determined to try the effect of conciliation and persuasion, and sent a letter to the Pope offering to secure for him perfect freedom of action and undiminished authority in the Vatican, on condition of his sanctioning the annexation of the city to the Italian kingdom. He even offered to place the treaty, which should be entered into, under the guarantee of the Roman Catholic powers, and to pay a large annual subsidy to enable him to keep up his court and defray the expenses of his ministers. But the uniform reply was, "*Non possumus,*" accompanied not unfrequently by insulting terms leveled against what he still persisted in terming the Piedmontese government. The non-success of all these attempts only excited the party of action to the greater exertions. They began once more to enroll volunteers, and called a general assembly of all the democratic societies in Genoa, to organize one large association (*Associazione Emancipatrice*), the object of which was to complete the whole scheme of Italian unity, which had already made such marvelous progress.

Garibaldi was soon among them, now curbing their impatience, now urging on those measures which he considered most conducive to the object they all had in view. The excitement became daily greater and greater, and the cry, "*Roma o morte*" (Rome or death), began to resound through all great cities of northern Italy. The government, fearing to compromise Italy in the eyes of Napoleon, who still continued the occupation of Rome, sent to arrest the most daring and dangerous of the revolutionists, and Garibaldi returned to Caprera to hatch new plots. But he could not rest long in retirement while the work he thought himself called to perform was still incomplete. Accordingly, after two months' inactivity, he again appeared on the scene, and directed his steps toward Sicily, the field of his former success. Many of the

Sicilian youth again enrolled themselves under his banner. When, however, it became known that he was aiming at another expedition, the goal of which was Rome, the government began to see the danger that threatened, and sent Cialdini to watch the progress of events. On August 24 Garibaldi again crossed the Straits of Messina. But very different was the reception which awaited him on the mainland from that which he met with two years before. The hour of enthusiasm had passed, the Bourbons were expelled, the whole country annexed; what was there now to excite the population to new frenzy? In place of thousands crowding to his banner, Garibaldi saw himself opposed by the royal troops. Shots were fired on both sides, and on August 29 Garibaldi took up his position on an elevation termed Aspramonte, and after a brief combat there was wounded in the ankle and taken prisoner, with all his followers. He was sent to Spezzia to be properly attended, and his ranks were dispersed among the different forts of the country.

The unhappy result of this last attempt of the party of action had the effect of quenching the ardor of the more violent revolutionists, and drawing the attention of the country rather to the internal organization of the provinces and the financial requirements of the future. The question of brigandage also became one of great and pressing importance, for as the Italian troops were not allowed to cross the borders of the papal states, the frontier country became the haunt of numerous bands of brigands, who, when pursued, took refuge in the Roman territory. All this led to new recriminations between the governments of Italy and France, and began to excite in the mind of Napoleon the desire to be relieved from the embarrassments which the Roman occupation now occasioned. Accordingly, after long negotiations, the Convention of September, 1864, was drawn up between the Italian Government and the emperor, in which it was stipulated that the latter should neither attack the Roman states nor allow anyone else to do so, and that France on her side should gradually remove all the French troops from Rome, completing the evacuation within two years. It was also stipulated that the king should transfer his capital to some other convenient locality within six months, and a council was therefore held to determine which should be the future capital of the Italian kingdom. Some recommended Naples, but General Cialdini opposed it, considering Naples too much exposed to attacks from the sea. The king decided for Florence. "If we go to Florence," he said at the conclusion of his speech, "we can easily, after five or six years, say adieu, and transport ourselves to Rome; but once in Naples there will be no possibility of a removal, and we should be obliged to renounce the idea of ever having Rome as the capital of the kingdom."

This news was badly received at Turin. The people were sore at being deprived of the prestige they had always enjoyed as representing the capital of a kingdom, and more so at being deprived of Rome and at seeing Florence selected—Florence, which did not seem to have charms at all equal to their own. But the difficulties were soon removed, and by June 1, 1865, the whole of the governmental functions were definitely settled in Florence. M. de Drouyn de Lhuys, the French foreign secretary, remarked to the Italian minister: "Of course the result of all this is that you will eventually go to Rome, but a sufficient interval must elapse to save us from responsibility." [1]

The settlement of the Italian Government in Florence was inaugurated by a great national festival. The statue of Dante was to be uncovered, and all Italy hailed it as the symbol of their now reviving nationality. But simultaneously with this great national assemblage, it became gradually known that negotiations had been carried on for some time between the Italian and French governments, the result of which was that Napoleon had agreed to evacuate Rome within two years, and leave the Italian and papal courts face to face with each other to settle their differences as best they could. At the first intimation of this agreement there was great excitement at the Vatican, and Antonelli, the prime minister, wrote letters of remonstrance to all the Roman Catholic powers of Europe. As these letters, however, produced no effect, he began to enroll troops and put the whole country into a state of defense. But not content with this, Pius IX. took occasion to issue a syllabus, in which he fulminated anathemas against all modern social ideas, and claimed powers, as the vicegerent of Heaven, similar to those which were put forward by Gregory VII. and Innocent III. But these claims failed of promoting the cause for which they were intended, and gave a new handle to the designs of his enemies.

Meantime, the strife between Austria and Prussia became more serious every day, and Prussia, presaging the speedy outbreak of hostilities, sought to bring about an offensive and defensive alliance with Italy. Italy, in response to this invitation, sent a special ambassador to Berlin, and after some preliminary negotiations, a treaty was signed on April 14, 1866, in which Italy bound herself to declare war against Austria immediately on the outbreak of hostilities in Germany, and was promised Venice at the end of the war.

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[1] Stillman, "The Union of Italy," p. 332.

The result of this treaty in Italy was to bring the question of Venice once more into prominence. Austria, knowing that a blow would be struck in this direction, began to mass large numbers of troops in the Quadrilateral, and to put the whole coast of the Adriatic, so far as her dominion extended, in a state of defense. She also made an effort to gain over the alliance of France, under the promise of ceding Venetia to the emperor, in return for an adequate compensation in some other direction. But, notwithstanding all the offers of Austria, made through the intervention of France, Victor Emmanuel, having once signed a treaty with Prussia, absolutely refused to give up that alliance, and resolutely prepared for the impending war.

This course was justified by the preparations which were already being made by Austria, and to render the movement more popular, La Marmora, the prime minister at the time, sent a manifesto into every part of the country, which excited the greatest enthusiasm and caused thousands of recruits to flock to the national standard. Everything seemed hurrying to the crisis, and war seemed inevitable. Napoleon made one further attempt to ward off this result, and proposed to convene a European congress to settle differences, but the attitude of Austria was too uncompromising, and the attempt failed.

In June, 1866, Prussia occupied Holstein, contrary to the regulations of the German Confederation, and issued a note to all the Germanic powers demanding a reform of the constitution. This gave the greatest offense to Austria, and as she was supported in the Diet by a majority of votes, Prussia withdrew her representative and declared war. Italy, according to the treaty signed in Berlin, was bound to do the same, and before the end of the month the campaign had commenced on either side of the Alps.

Austria had 200,000 trained soldiers in Italy, and a combination of fortresses which gave her a great advantage for defense. Italy had an army of 300,000 men, but many of them raw recruits, hastily enrolled in prospect of the war. Part of this army crossed the Mincio into the Austrian territory on June 23. But the whole plan of the campaign on the Italian side was ill conceived and clumsily executed. After many preliminary skirmishes, two great pitched battles were fought, one at Custozza, the other at Villafranca, in both of which the Italian arms were worsted and Austria remained master of the field. The defeat of the Italians, however, was by no means a disastrous one. The army retreated, but remained unbroken, and ready to renew the contest as opportunity offered.

In Germany the contest was sharp and decisive. Prince Charles and the crown prince, who led the two main wings of the Prussian army, united their forces in Bohemia, and met the Austrians, led by General Benedek, at Königsgrätz. A decisive battle was fought (since called the battle of Sadowa), in which the Austrians were entirely routed, and the Prussians took possession of Bohemia.

The very next day after the battle it was announced from Paris that the Emperor of Austria had sent a messenger to Napoleon begging him to negotiate a truce, and resigning the whole of Venetia into his hands. This was a step rendered indispensable to the Austrians by the need which now existed of withdrawing the whole army of Italy over the Alps to defend their own territory. Such a termination of the struggle after the defeats which the Italians had sustained was a terrible blow to their national pride. They could not endure the thought of receiving from the hands of Napoleon as a free gift what they were unable to take in open warfare, and determined, therefore, to carry on the contest with the hope of yet reaping some laurels for the national army. Cialdini accordingly crossed the Po, and occupied nearly all Venetia, which had been well-nigh denuded of Austrian troops, while Garibaldi still pursued his conquests in the Tyrol and around Trent. But at sea Italy was now equally unfortunate in open conflict as it had been on land, a large portion of the fleet being destroyed at Lissa by the Austrians.

Prussia in the meantime marched forward victoriously to within sight of Vienna, when a truce was proclaimed (July 25), and a treaty soon after signed, by virtue of which Italy obtained Venice, while Austria was allowed to retain her hold upon Trent. On August 24, Venice was given into the hands of the Emperor Napoleon. On the following October 19, it was made over to Italy, and by a plebiscite of 647,315 votes against 69 definitely incorporated as a part of the Italian kingdom.

Chapter XLIX

ROME BECOMES THE CAPITAL OF ITALY. 1867-1871

NO sooner was the Venetian question finally settled by the annexation of the whole territory to the kingdom of Italy than the desire for the possession of Rome as the capital became more ardent than ever. Every fresh statesman as he came into power had some new plan to propose for the solution of the difficulty, and for the reconciliation of the church to the state. Laws to regulate the relationship between them were constantly being framed and as constantly rejected. The Holy See offered a firm and unwavering resistance to every interference of the civil power, and determined to keep the Roman territory entirely in its own hands.

Meantime, however, Napoleon was loyally carrying out his part of the treaty which he had entered into with Victor Emmanuel, by gradually removing his troops. But he insisted all the more firmly that Italy should not depart from her agreement to prevent any hostile force from entering Rome and causing revolution in the papal city. But no sooner had the last French soldier disappeared than the National Committee of Italian Independence, headed by Garibaldi, began to agitate the Roman question against the express orders of the government. A proclamation was issued by this committee, and signed by Garibaldi, in July, 1867, in which the Roman people were urged to revolt from the papal government, and calling upon all good Italians to help them in their struggle. Simultaneously a secret expedition was set on foot to invade the papal states, with Garibaldi at its head. But the government, fearing that the relations with France might thus be compromised, had Garibaldi himself arrested and sent back to his home in Caprera.

This decisive measure, however, on the part of the government was very far from putting a stop to the movement, which still went on under the direction of the committee. Band after band of insurgents passed the papal frontiers and urged the population to revolt. The Roman government was not behindhand in laying its complaints before the emperor of the French, who, indignant at what he considered a breach of faith on the part of Italy, prepared to send troops to Rome as a protection against any further invasion of the Holy See. At this unlucky juncture Garibaldi reappeared, having secretly escaped from Caprera and rejoined the insurgent forces, and with his usual improvident ardor urged on the expedition, regardless of all consequences. A large body of national volunteers, led by Garibaldi and his officers, marched forward toward Rome, and the first conflict between them and the papal troops took place at Monte Rotondo on October 26, 1867. The action was sharp and decisive; the papal forces were obliged to retire, leaving horses, munitions of war, and a number of prisoners in the hands of Garibaldi. The Italian Government, knowing that the French were landing at Civita Vecchia, refused any participation in the whole affair, and earnestly advised the insurgents to withdraw. But they were too elated by this first victory to listen to counsel, and only pressed on the more eagerly toward Rome. But hardly had they passed the town of Mentana when the scouts came in with the information that the advanced portion of the army was attacked by a division of papal zouaves drawn up to oppose them. On this Garibaldi, to prevent his little army being outflanked, fell back upon Mentana. Hardly was this movement effected when they were attacked by the enemy with great vigor. A skirmish ensued, in which the papal troops were at first driven back, but they soon advanced again, backed up by a company of French infantry armed with the new rifles termed "chassepots." The fire of the new and formidable weapon threw the insurgents speedily into confusion, and finally put them to flight, and Garibaldi was obliged to retire with his whole force upon Monte Rotondo, leaving above one thousand dead and wounded on the field. Thence he soon after crossed the frontier, was arrested by the Italian Government, and kept out of mischief until the excitement had abated. French troops remained at Civita Vecchia for the next three years.

It became evident now that the Roman question was not to be solved in the ready manner which the national committee had conceived, but was once more relegated to the method of diplomatic negotiation, the actual solution appearing to be as far off as ever. At this juncture Victor Emmauel took the matter secretly into his own hands. Seeing that serious complications were arising between France and Prussia, he took the opportunity of proposing to their respective sovereigns a defensive alliance between Italy, Austria, and France, hoping in this way to come to an amicable settlement of all the outstanding questions, and the Roman question among the first. These secret negotiations were carried on more or less constantly all through the years 1868 and 1869, but were never brought to any decisive issue. Austria tried her utmost to induce the emperor of the French to enter into this triple compact, and urged strongly as a reason for it the impending war with Prussia. Had Napoleon yielded to these proposals, it is more than probable that the disasters which so soon overwhelmed his country would have been prevented. But his obstinacy on the Roman question was unshaken, and he marched on blindly to his fate.

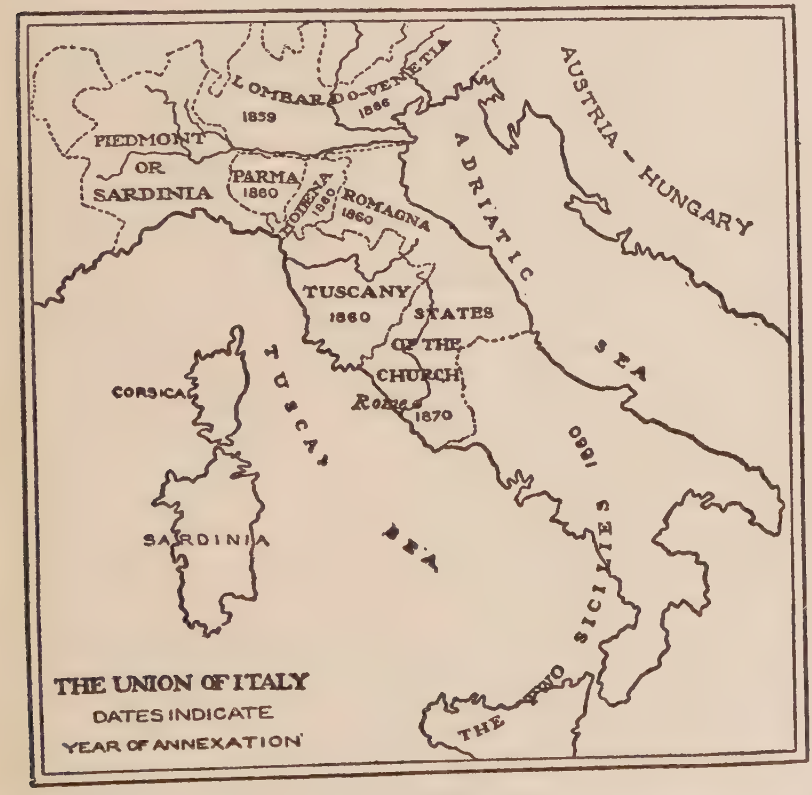
The year 1869 closed with the assembling of the Ecumenical Council at Rome, and the publication in 1870 of the dogma of Papal Infallibility. Though the intention of holding this Council was published as early as 1864, the notion of discussing infallibility had occurred to but two of the cardinals from whom written opinions had been requested. By some it is asserted that the Pope, in publishing this dogma, expected to strengthen his position in his own capital. If this was a consideration, it was not the only one, as may fairly be inferred from his invitation to Protestants as well as to Oriental Catholics. The Patriarch of Constantinople refused even to open the Papal communication, and, except by a few scholars like Guizot, Pusey, and Menzel, the Protestant world received with derision and contempt the invitation to participate. Because of prevailing social and political conditions it was deemed necessary to consider both the Primacy and the Temporal Power, and in doing so it was found impossible to avoid a discussion of related questions, among them the matter of infallibility. Its publication, however, raised up strife among bishops and theologians, and the governments of Europe, when they saw a doctrine proclaimed which might be made a handle for any amount of political strife, looked on with perfect indifference at every additional step which led to the final extinction of the temporal power.

The year 1870 was ushered in big with the presentiment of coming events. The tension of affairs between Prussia and France was getting stronger, and was at last brought to a point by the protest of Napoleon against the candidature of Duke Leopold of

Hohenzollern for the Spanish crown. On July 18, war was declared, and the declaration was followed with marvelous rapidity by the signal failure of the French arms. The few troops which had remained in Rome were recalled to defend their country, and thus the way was laid open for the Italian troops to march into the city as soon as they should be ordered to do so. But Victor Emmanuel had too much respect for the treaty with Napoleon to break the contract he had entered into not to take Rome by force of arms. But after the catastrophe at Sedan, followed by the deposition of the emperor and the proclamation of the French republic, there was nothing which bound him to observe a treaty made with a power now defunct. Moreover, a great change had taken place in the minds of the people throughout Italy on the question of the temporal power; added to this, the obstinate refusal of the Pope to come to any kind of terms with the court of Florence (which now represented the whole of Italy with the exception of the Roman state), and the refuge given to the brigands who hung about the frontiers, not to speak of the danger of enlisting foreign mercenaries in the very heart of Italy—all taken together showed that the independent existence of the two powers side by side was incompatible with peace and quietness. The other governments of Europe showed no opposition to the occupation of Rome on the part of Italy. England and Prussia encouraged the design; France was occupied with her own disasters; Austria had lost Venice, and was not in a position to open a new strife in Italy; Spain was struggling with her revolution; the moment, in short, was highly propitious for completing the edifice of Italian unity, and laying upon it its topmost stone.

The king, anxious as ever to get possession of Rome without fighting his way in and causing a European scandal, sent Count Ponza di Martini to the Pope, bearing a letter urging his Holiness to consider the circumstances of the country and to come to some kind of agreement. But these overtures were rejected as before, and the king had to give up all hope of a friendly settlement. An army of 50,000 men was accordingly marched over the frontier into the papal territory under the command of General Cadorna. The inhabitants welcomed them, and the few companies of papal zouaves which they met with on the way were easily dispersed and put to flight. On September 20 they arrived under the walls of the city. Little pressure was needed to force their way in. A few shots were fired against the Porta Pia, a breach was made in the fences, and the national army marched into Rome amid the enthusiastic acclamations of the people.

At first the Pope, urged by the Jesuits, determined to take flight, as he had done before in similar circumstances, but no friendly country was now near to receive him. He accordingly formed the resolution of shutting himself up in the Vatican palace, refusing all access to the conquerors, and putting on the air of a prisoner in his own city.



THE UNION OF ITALY
DATES INDICATE YEAR OF ANNEXATION

No sooner was General Cadorna in full possession of Rome than he selected some of the most prominent of the citizens to form a Junta and carry on the government until a *plebiscite* could be taken to decide as to the wishes of the inhabitants themselves. This took place on October 2, when 40,895 votes were given for the annexation of Rome to the Italian kingdom and 96 against it. On the 9th of the same month a deputation of citizens, headed by the Duke of Sermoneta, presented themselves before the king at Florence and gave him the result of the *plébiscite,* formally proclaiming the pontifical states to be henceforth annexed to the kingdom of Italy. Thus the progress of public opinion, the force of the national will, and twenty years of persevering efforts and sacrifices, succeeded at last in bringing to a termination a power supposed by many to be indestructible, and constituting once more Rome, with all its memories and all its enormous prestige, as the center and capital of Italy. Steps were immediately taken to transfer the government to this its natural seat. On June 24, 1871, the government held its last sitting in Florence, and on the 28th the king bade adieu to the Pitti Palace. Having first visited Naples, he made his entry into Rome on July 2, amid the most enthusiastic cheers of the whole population, and took up his abode in the Quirinal. On November 27, the Parliament assembled at Montecitorio. The king, in his opening speech, declared that they had entered the Eternal City maintaining all their relations with the European powers intact. "The unity of Italy was at last completed. . . . A body of laws passed by the Italian Parliament, and known as the Guarantees, assured to the Pope the honors and immunities of a sovereign, the possession of the Vatican and Lateran palaces, and a princely income; in the appointment of bishops and generally in the government of the church a fullness of authority was left him such as he possessed in no other European land. But Pius would accept no compromise for the loss of his temporal power. He spurned the reconciliation with the Italian people. . . . He declared Rome to be in the possession of brigands; and, with a fine affectation of disdain for Victor Emmanuel and the Italian Government, he invented and sustained down to the end of his life . . . the reproachful part of the Prisoner of the Vatican." [1]

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[1] Fyffe, "Modern Europe," p. 1019.

Chapter L

INTERNAL CONDITION OF THE KINGDOM.
1871-1914

THUS in 1871 the capital of Italy was transferred to Rome. The death of Victor Emmanuel occurred seven years later and his son came to the throne as Humbert I. of Italy instead of continuing the succession of the kings of Sardinia as Humbert IV. The reigning monarch, since the assassination of Humbert, is Victor Emmanuel III., whose infant son, born in 1904, is called—out of regard for the Vatican—Prince of Piedmont, and not Prince of Rome. The statute of Charles Albert, issued in 1848, is the constitution of united Italy. By its terms the government is monarchical, the crown being vested in the house of Savoy, but excluding female succession. The executive power belongs to the king, acting through ministers who have entrance to Parliament. There are two chambers in Parliament—a Senate, whose members are nominated by the king without restriction of numbers; a Chamber of Deputies, composed of about five hundred members elected for five years.[1]

"One of the first facts that meets the observer of Italian life is the chaos and decay of the old political parties." In the sixties and early seventies the Right, or Conservatives, formed the great party *par excellence*. They ruled united Italy during the first fifteen years of its existence, and on the whole well. "But they were so intent on balancing the finances that they forgot social reform," and in 1876 they were defeated and gave place to the Left, or Progressives. Thereafter until 1887 Depretis was head of the government except for two short intervals, and he inaugurated that fatal policy of securing his supporters among men of all parties. In order to please this motley following he had to trim and turn and could follow no consistent plan. "The civil service became a machine to secure a ministerial majority. Constituencies were bought with local railways and public works, with every direct and indirect form of bribery. In Parliament the government 'exploited chance,' bribing members, buying the support of this or that shifting group, veering sometimes to Right, sometimes to Left, with little other aim but to keep in office. . . . But it is to this period that Italy still mainly owes the worst features of her later politics—the electoral corruption, the degradation of the civil service, the mad colonial policy, the Triple Alliance, the protective tariff, the worst of the bank scandals."[2] This policy of fusion and confusion has been called *Trasformismo.*

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[1] See "Italy To-day," by B. King and T. Okey, London, 1901; "Italian Life in Town and Country," by Luigi Villari, New York, 1902; "*Parlementarisme italien: le Cabinet Pelloux,*" by M. Caudelin; *Annales de l'École libre des Sciences Politiques,* vol. v. No. 15; "*Transformation des Sociétés européennes au 19me. Siècle: l'Italie,*" by C. Seignobos, in *Revue des Cours et Conférences,* July 9, 1903; *The Annual Register, passim.*

With the accession of the Left in 1877 had come the rise to power of Crispi, who had been so active in Garibaldi's Sicilian expedition. He is noteworthy among a host of mediocre aspirants for power, though often hasty and even flighty. His saying, "The monarchy unites us, the republic would divide us," became the keynote of the Democrats.

In 1882 the suffrage was somewhat enlarged, but it is still based on property qualifications, and illiterates are *ipso facto* barred. "The proportion of the population which has the vote is very small. Before 1882 it was only 2 per cent.; now (1901) it is only 7 per cent., as against 16 in Great Britain, 20 in Germany, 27 in France."[3] The deputies are not paid. The Republicans, who have retained the desire for the complete union of all Italian-speaking lands—Tyrol, Trieste, Corsica, Nice, Malta—are called the party of "*L'Italia irridenta.*" The Radicals wish to play a great part in Europe and have colonies, and so they favor the Triple Alliance. The Socialists, who have lately made immense gains, are content with the monarchy for the present, and strive for purity in politics and progressive social reform legislation. The Conservatives' aim is to strengthen the money and landed powers or authorities, and they manifest a foolish dread of any reform, no matter how salutary, if it is supported by the Socialists. Changes of ministry are very frequent, averaging once a year.

The relations between the government of Italy and the Papacy form a painful and complicated subject; but on the whole it may safely be said now that time is slowly softening papal hostility. The Papacy cannot openly, however, abandon the attitude assumed with such unfortunate impetuosity by Pio Nono. Even after all these years have passed away the Pope is still the (voluntary) Prisoner of the Vatican. He has refused to recognize the Italian Government, and on all occasions, as at the death of King Humbert, he renews his official protest at being deprived of the papal states. It is hoped that the new Pope, Pius X., will abandon this position and acknowledge the abundantly proved fact that neither from foreign pressure nor from within is there the slightest chance of his obtaining the restoration of the anomalous temporal power.

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[2] King and Okey, "Italy To-day," p. 3.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 14.

The state has steadily and faithfully maintained the Law of Guarantee, which secures to the Pope the position of a sovereign, " declares his person to be inviolable, punishes attacks and libels on it as attacks on the king, guarantees him the Vatican and Lateran palaces with the suburban retreat of Castel Gandolfo and an annual dotation of $625,000, allows no officer of justice to enter their precincts, and gives the Pope special postal and telegraphic facilities." [4]

Just what the strength of the papal party is among the people is hard to say. Judging from all data at hand it seems that the Roman Church in Italy since 1870 has maintained part of its hold at least, and it certainly has shown a remarkable outburst of activity in religious and social matters. Yet it has had a hardy rival in Socialism, which has taken many adherents from it. The clever policy of Leo XIII. and his generally admired character have done much to rescue the Roman Church from the precarious condition in which it was left by Pio Nono. Nevertheless, Leo longed to recover the temporal power, and as late as 1898 he allowed Cardinal Parocchi " to talk of a popular crusade " to attain this end.

Besides hoping for foreign aid, the Papacy has used internal pressure on the government by ordering the faithful to abstain from voting. In 1883 it was declared inexpedient for members of the Roman Church to vote in parliamentary elections. By express order of the Pope in 1895 the faithful were forbidden to vote, " and the inexpedient (*non expedit*) became unlawful. If the rule had been generally obeyed, it would have been a serious danger to the state. But it attempted the impossible. Wiser men, like Manning, always protested against it. . . . The almost unanimous evidence of men of all parties goes to show that . . . the *non expedit* is little observed." [5]

Until recently the financial question has proved one of the

[4] King and Okey, "Italy To-day," p. 40.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 47.

most difficult to solve in Italy. Vast public works were carried out, the army and navy were unduly expensive, and deficits occurred annually in the national budget. For a time a mania for speculation swept over the country and the wildest schemes obtained support. At this period Rome saw itself partially transformed into a modern city, and a very ugly one at that. Then came a reaction, together with the discovery of the disgraceful bank scandals, which are even yet veiled in mystery. Italy presented a sorry picture of corruption, miserable poverty, and oppression to the world.

Conditions in Sicily[6] were probably the worst in all Italy. To-day improvement is evident everywhere. The standard of living has slowly risen. The squalor of former days is disappearing. Industrial expansion is beginning to effect a decided amelioration for all classes, including the peasants. A considerable source of strength for Italy is the devotion of her absent sons, who send back to the old country annually large sums from the United States, South America, and from near-by countries, where there are many Italians working as temporary emigrants. Official reports show that in the year 1907, 276,420 went to other parts of Europe, 298,124 to the United States, 101,441 to Argentine Republic, Uruguay, Paraguay and Brazil, 14,048 to North Africa, and 10,436 to Canada. In 1905, 127,000 emigrants returned to Italy; in 1906, 160,000; and in 1907, 234,000, of whom 162,000 were from the United States alone.

It was hoped that unity would bring about increase of prosperity, but this hope was disappointed. In 1862 foreign trade stood at about $300,000,000, and during the next decade it increased about one-half. "From 1870 to 1897 the foreign trade practically stood still and the exports showed a progressive decline. In the last three years (published in 1901) there has been a startling change. The exports, from an average of less than $195,000,000 in the previous decade, rose to $240,000,000 in 1898, and $285,000,000 in 1899, though they have fallen off to $267,000,000 in 1900, partly owing to the failure of the olive crop. The imports, from an average of $240,000,000, rose to $282,000,000 in 1898, $300,000,000 in 1899, and nearly $335,000,000 in 1900. The great bulk of the increase in exports has been in manufactured articles, especially silk, and more than half the increase in imports has been in raw materials, machinery, and coal. There is, in fact, every sign that Italy is at the commencement of a remarkable industrial expansion." This prediction, written by King and Okey in 1900, has been fulfilled in the succeeding years. In 1902 the imports were worth $354,848,112; in 1903, $403,788,091; in 1907, $585,726,820; the exports for 1902 were worth $294,481,639; for 1903, $304,842,448; for 1907, $371,460,009.

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[6] "*Il Movimento Agricolo Siciliomo,*" F. L. Vetere, Sondron, 1903. Deals chiefly with Agrarian revolts, 1800-1893.

The most important industry is silk, but cotton is now being raised with some success. Most of the exports go to South America and the Levant, but Italy's yarns and textiles are beginning to enter into competition in the international market. Italy has tried a protective tariff, the highest one in 1887, but she seems to have suffered rather than benefited. In 1899 a reciprocal commercial treaty was made with France, as had previously been done with Switzerland, Austria, and Germany. Despite the continued existence of agrarian poverty, which has been of the most extreme sort, agriculture itself seems to be sharing in the general revival.

These improved conditions are reflected in the national budget. Italy for a long time was heavily burdened with an immense national debt, which she has been steadily absorbing within the last few years. In November, 1901, the government announced in Parliament that the financial year 1900-1901 left a surplus of $8,000,000, instead of the anticipated (and usual) deficit. (See *Annual Register,* 1901). By the end of 1902 the national finances had reached a "state of prosperity long unknown. The budget of 1901-1902 had ended with a surplus of $6,500,000." The corrected budget of 1902-1903 gave reason to expect a surplus of $3,200,000 on a total of $362,400,000 (on the rough basis of five lire to the dollar).[7]

The report of the director general of the Banca d'Italia, read on March 28, 1903, affords fresh testimony to the revival; it points out the high price of Italian *rentes,* owing to the satisfactory state of public finance, to the constantly increasing thrift and improvement in the national economy, to the rapid and continuous absorption of securities held abroad, the sums sent home by Italian emigrants, and the healthier circulation of money. This has tended to the disappearance of the exchange (as all those who have recently traveled in Italy can testify!). On June 30, 1907, the property of the state was valued at $5,987,030,726 lire or $1,197,406,146, of which 26,254,810 lire or $5,250,962 was in gold.

Military service in Italy is obligatory. At the age of 20 all men not physically debarred have to enter their names on the army list and then serve for two or three years. Those who have an advanced education and pay taxes to the amount of $240 a year are required to remain with the colors for one year only. A man is bound to serve, in case of war, till he reaches the age of forty, so that the mobilized army would consist of about 3,481,000 men.[8]

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[7] See *La Nuova Antalogia,* for October 16, 1903, art. by M. Ferraris (Deputy), on "*La Situazione Finanziaria e il Bilancio, 1902-1903.*"

In the Parliament of 1901-1902 a law was passed which fixed the maximum of the cost of the army from July 1, 1901, to June 30, 1907, annually, at $47,800,000, with $7,200,000 for pensions, or a total of $55,000,000. Comparing this with other countries as to military expenditure and revenue, the proportion is very little higher in Italy than in Austria, Germany, or Russia. A fairer test is the proportion of military expenditure to population, and from this point of view Italy is better situated than most of the other countries, the cost being about 11 francs in Italy, against nearly 20 francs in Germany and more than 25 francs in France. Moreover, thanks to the law of 1901, Italy's military expenses remain stationary, while in most European countries they are increasing.[9] Italy has also striven to develop a navy, which, owing to the conformation of the peninsula, is particularly important. She has large ships and has spent much on them, but their efficiency is a matter of conjecture.

In education Italy has the sad distinction of being one of the most backward countries in Western Europe. This is due not so much to lack of interest as to a vicious system. Since 1860 there have been nearly forty education ministers, each with his own pet schemes to carry out. Then, too, money has been stinted. Middle-class education is profoundly unsatisfactory. The students often take part in political or social agitation and the government seems afraid to interfere. The clerical schools are on the whole better managed and seriously cut into the attendance at the government schools. Universities abound (there are twenty-one), but they do not turn out many well-equipped graduates. Besides, there are so many graduated that there is nothing for most of them to do. The result has been to create a class of educated unemployed, who clamor for government posts, and yet notwithstanding all the government's complaisance, many of them cannot be provided for, and those left over form a really dangerous element, being always discontented and ready to criticise everything.

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[8] The estimated population of Italy, January 1, 1910, was 34,000,000—an increase of 4,000,000 since 1881, despite the losses by emigration.

[9] *The Times*, London, February 20, 1903.

Ever since the French revolution Italy has been regarded as the classic ground for secret societies. Reference has already been made to the Carbonari and others active during the Risorgimento. Anarchism, which long seemed very prosperous in Italy, has now largely succumbed to Socialism. But there are two flourishing secret societies—the Camorra and the Mafia. It is, naturally, difficult to speak of these societies with certainty, but King and Okey, who know Italy well and have studied present conditions there with care, give what is probably as reliable an account as we have. The importance of these societies, they say, is often greatly exaggerated. The Camorra is practically confined to the city of Naples, where it flourishes on the deep-seated corruption of a large section of the community. It is a vicious organization of the criminal poor, which exists by blackmail. Very much like the Camorra is the Mafia, which is confined to Sicily. It is made up of bands of about a dozen men, each under the leadership of some especially prominent and successful criminal who acts as a sort of director, but seldom takes an active part, leaving the work to his subordinates and giving them the benefit of his advice. These bands form a species of criminal aristocracy, and are generally not of the lowest class, but are often small proprietors or tradesmen, and occasionally are even higher in the social scale. Blackmail is the chief instrument, murder and theft being reserved for recalcitrants or backsliders. These societies will disappear only with improved social conditions, for the police could not stamp them out at present even if they should try to do so. They are symptomatic of the diseased social state of southern Italy. The social discontent which gives them birth was also manifested in the Sicilian riots of 1893-1894, the riots of 1898, and the famous "*Fatti di maggio*" at Milan, and various other events of the same kind.

Italy's foreign policy, which at first under the Conservatives tended to friendship with France, has since 1881 been officially, at least, consonant with the existence of the Triple Alliance, formed in 1882, between Italy, Austria, and the German Empire. The occupation of Tunis by France in 1881 brought about a revulsion in Italy against the French. The alliance is purely defensive, but it is frequently charged with the responsibility for Italy's heavy military expenses, for it is said that it has obliged Italy to maintain an unduly large armament in order to keep up with the other two powers. It has been renewed at various intervals, the last time being 1902, when there were widespread expectations that Italy would refuse to bind herself again to the two central nations, but would go back to her traditional Gallophile policy, freely and without restrictions.

In the latter years of the nineteenth century the mania for colonies seized hold of almost all Europe, which had awakened to the commanding position of Great Britain and desired to imitate it. Italy, burdened with debt and beset with domestic difficulties, did not escape the prevailing craze.

In 1880 the Rubatino Navigation Company ceded to the Italian Government its coaling station in the Bay of Assab on the Red Sea. This was accepted without any colonial intention by the Cabinet. After having refused England's offer to join in the occupation of Egypt, at the instigation of France, Italy was piqued, and soon began to look elsewhere for compensation. Then she came to a secret understanding with France of making Massowah on the Red Sea into a military establishment, with a view to acquisitions on the Nile (1885). This attempt led in 1887 to war with Abyssinia, which finally ceded considerable territory to Italy—as far as Asmara. Crispi for a time resisted the popular desire for colonial expansion, and uttered prophetic warnings of the consequences, but he soon adopted this policy as his own, and named the new colony Erythrea. With the accession of Menelek, King of Shoa, as ruler of Abyssinia (1889), a decided change came in Africa. He at once announced that he would not recognize the Italian protectorate. Attacks were also made by the dervishes. By 1894 hostilities were in full swing between the Italians and Menelek. In 1895 the Italian commander, Baratieri, advanced into Menelek's territory and occupied the Tigré district. Menelek now advanced to meet the Italians, who were few in numbers and poorly equipped, chiefly owing to the ignorance and neglect of the ministry. Menelek captured the Italian outpost, Makaleh, in January, 1896, and he at once proceeded against Adowa with 80,000 men, where he encountered Baratieri with only 14,000 men on March 1. Of the total Italian force 6000 were killed. The entire history of the affair has not yet been cleared up, despite the court-martial of Baratieri, which followed. It led to the immediate resignation of Crispi on March 5, to whose carelessness and ignorance the disaster was in great part due. Di Rudini, Crispi's successor, announced the abandonment of colonial expansion and negotiated a peace with Menelek, giving up to him the Tigré.

In July, 1900, as he was returning from a *festa* to his palace at Monza, King Humbert was assassinated by the anarchist Bresci. The king's only son, the Prince of Naples, succeeded to the throne as Victor Emmanuel III., and was everywhere received with popular sympathy and respect. He was only thirty years old. The king is noteworthy for his strict education, his simplicity, and liberal views; he is studious and has a strong will. Among the vast majority of his subjects he is deservedly popular. Nothing could have given greater proof of his liberality and truly democratic and statesmanlike grasp of contemporary conditions than his appointment of Zanardelli, for many years prominent as an advanced radical and an eminent jurist, as premier. It is indeed fortunate for Italy that with the material turn in the tide she has likewise a new and capable king. Zanardelli held office till October, 1903, when he retired on account of ill-health, after a most successful administration, and was succeeded by another radical—Giolitti. In 1902 the presence of the king at Naples to welcome the fleet on its return from China gave occasion for imposing demonstrations expressive of the complete harmony existing between the king and his people.

Zanardelli, backed up by his foreign minister, Prinetti, was strongly in favor of friendship with France, and under him there has been a striking renewal of cordiality between the two countries, made evident to the world by the joint maneuvers of the fleets at Toulon, a commercial treaty, and an agreement as to the Tripolitana, which has greatly tempered Mediterranean animosities. At the New Year's reception at the French embassy in Rome on January 1, 1902, the French ambassador, Barrère, referring to the good relations between Italy and France, said: "There exists perfect conformity of views between the two governments."[10] In the autumn of 1903 King Victor Emmanuel visited Paris, where he met with a most cordial reception. In this same year King Edward VII., was received at Rome, and shortly afterwards Victor Emmanuel made a return visit at Windsor, thus testifying to the continued existence of Anglo-Italian friendship. The relations between the Roman Church and the Italian Government showed a conspicuous improvement in the years 1904-1905. The Pope, Pius X., turned from the policy of the *non expedit* and for the first time Catholics openly took an active part in Italian politics. Their influence in politics is much needed as a conservative counterpoise to the radicals, socialists, and republicans. Although the *rapprochement* can only be brought about slowly, it is already full of promise for the future of Italy. Gioletti, the President of the Council of Ministers, has welcomed overtures from the Vatican, and so has the king. Despite the visit of President Loubet to Italy in 1904, where his failure to visit the Pope caused criticism, the good feeling between Church and State seems decidedly on the increase, and the vexed problem of the temporal power may before many years reach a satisfactory solution. The financial status of the government is the best for years. The expenditures for 1907-1908 were estimated at 2,173,445,699 lire, and the revenue at 2,224,410,293 lire. The agio on gold has disappeared, and the national debt has been decreased. Foreign relations are on a better basis than ever before and are ably managed by Minister Tiltoni. December 14, 1904, a convention for arbitration was signed with the United States, and the cordial relations with France and England have been retained, thus giving Italy a needed freedom and independence of policy as regards the Triple Alliance.

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[10] *The Times*, January 2, 1902.

In April, 1906, for ten days Mount Vesuvius was in the most terrible and destructive eruption since that of 79 A. D., when Pompeii and Herculaneum were buried. Four towns and several small villages were destroyed and more than two thousand lives were lost. The presence of both king and queen, who hastened at once to Naples, did much to quiet the alarm and alleviate the sufferings of the people. The security of Victor Emmanuel III. in the hearts of his people could not have been put to a surer test. Under this able and popular sovereign United Italy has auspiciously begun the twentieth century, and, with increasing political as well as financial well-being, there seems every reason to hope that she will long enjoy peace, prosperity, and progress.

During 1907 the Italian government was engaged in inaugurating much-needed railway reforms, the railroads of the country having been in a deplorable state. Owing to the new regulations. they were much improved. This same year, Italy ratified the Italo-Argentine treaty of Arbitration at the Hague from which the country has already derived considerable benefit.

On December 28, 1908, an earthquake occurred in Calabria and Sicily and in less than five minutes two hundred thousand lives and more than $1,000,000,000 worth of property had been destroyed. The cities of Reggio and Messina and several smaller towns were reduced to heaps of ruins.

In 1909 the Czar of Russia visited King Victor Emmanuel at Racconigi, materially strengthening the ties binding the two countries.

The years 1910 and 1911 saw many changes in ministry under the premiership of Signors Sonnino, Luzzatti, and Giolitti.

The Fiftieth Anniversary of the creation of the Italian Kingdom occurred in 1911, and great festivities were arranged to celebrate the event. International exhibitions were held in Rome, Florence, and Turin.

During the recent decade the relations between Italy and the Turkish Empire had been growing more and more strained. Since the revolution in Turkey the feeling against Italy was even more bitter and contemptuous. For some time the Nationalist Party, which came into power in December, 1910, had demanded a more spirited foreign policy. The Cabinet, forced by this sentiment, notified the Powers in July, 1911, that Italy would not stand any further encroachments on the part of Turkey, nor would she submit longer to the Turkish treatment of her subjects in Tripoli. On September 28, 1911, Italy followed this up by sending Turkey an ultimatum demanding that Italy be permitted to make a military occupation of the country, and on September 29 Italy declared war The Turkish force in Tripoli was about 8,000 men, while the defences of the towns were old-fashioned forts supplied, for the most part, with obsolete cannon and ammunition. The first week of the war saw the destruction of the Turkish torpedo vessels in the Adriatic, also the bombardment of the coast forts of Tripoli. The first troops were now hurried to Tripoli, and by the 20th of October 20,000 men had been landed. At the outset the Italian operations were necessarily confined to the occupation of coast towns only.

On November 5, 1911, Italy announced the annexation of Tripoli and Cyrenaica, and the policy of no compromise was definitely entered upon. Heavy rains during November added to the difficulties of the campaign. In December the Turks attacked the Italians entrenched at Benghazi and Derna, but inflicted hardly any loss. Enver Bey succeeded to the command of the Turkish troops in January, 1912, and tried to entice the Italians away from the sea-coast and the reach of the guns of the warships. By the end of 1911 the Italian troops that had been landed in Tripoli amounted to 100,000 men while the Turks had brought their number of troops up to about 12,000 around Tripoli and about 20,000 in Cyrenaica.

In the Red Sea the Italians destroyed seven Turkish gunboats and a blockade of the coast was proclaimed.

In the Mediterranean the Italians' next move was to send an expedition to the island of Rhodes, which was captured, and by the end of May, 1912, the Italian army had occupied the islands of Stampalia, Leros, Episcopi, Khalki, Skarpanto, Kasos, Kalymnos, and many others.

In Tripoli a decided victory was gained at Zanzur over the Turks and Arabs. General Caneva then pushed on to the oasis of Misrata, and after a severe engagement drove the Turks from their stronghold.

General Caneva's policy of allowing the Turks and Arabs to wear themselves out by remaining strictly on the defensive caused criticism in Italy, and he was recalled.

The last naval battle of the war took place on July 12, 1912, when an attempt by five Italian torpedo boats was made to pass the Dardanelles and attack the Turkish fleet anchored in the narrows. No damage was done to the Turkish fleet, but the attack and fear of the landing of Italian troops caused Turkey to keep there over 30,000 troops which might have been available for foreign service.

The last fighting in the war took place in Cyrenaica, where Enver Bey attacked the Italian lines at Karr el Lebu and Casa Aronne and was repulsed with heavy loss. One of the reasons for hastening the war to an end was the Balkan crisis. Turkey's mobilization of troops for the new danger was seriously menaced by Italy's command of the Ægean Sea, which prevented rapid movement of troops towards the Bulgarian and Servian frontiers. Peace for Turkey became indispensable and the preliminaries were hurried to completion.

On October 15 the Turkish Government accepted the Italian terms and peace was signed. By its terms Turkey resigned all of Libya to Italy but did not recognize her sovereignty. Italy restored certain islands to Turkey and guaranteed a certain portion of the Turkish debt.

It is estimated that the war cost Italy over $80,000,000, but she gained greatly in prestige and standing.

The exploitation of her new colonial possessions which began in 1913 will return to her many times the amount that the war cost the country.

In March, 1913, the new naval estimates for shipbuilding amounted to $16,000,000. Shipbuilding on a large scale being a new industry in Italy, caused a great slowness of construction of naval vessels. The placing of the Engineer Corps of the Navy on a higher and better plane met with great opposition from the higher officers and nearly caused the naval bill's defeat.

In March, King Victor Emmanuel presided at the meeting of the International Geographical Congress, a gathering of the scientists of all nations. In July the King and Queen made their long-delayed visit to Sweden. On the way they were received at Kiel by Emperor William of Germany. As the Triple Alliance—between Germany, Austria, and Italy—had only been renewed in December, 1912, the meeting between the King of Italy and the German Emperor was thought to portend the discussion of grave diplomatic questions that would arise from the renewal of the Triple Alliance. Both the Italian Premier and Foreign Secretary, as well as the German Chancellor and Foreign Secretary, took part in the Conference.

Scandal arising from the corruption of the contractors who built the new Palace of Justice finally culminated in their arrest in February. A Parliamentary Commission which investigated the cause passed censure on four deputies who were to a more or to a less degree involved in the fraud.

Italy continued during 1913 to have trouble in her African colonies. The native tribes caused considerable anxiety to her army of occupation. A strong force of Arabs under the command of a Turkish leader, one Baruni Bey, was finally defeated near Gharian after several engagements and skirmishes. The native chiefs were forced to submit, but the Turkish leader of the revolt escaped.

Harbor troubles became prominent during the summer months, especially at Milan. Several strikes took place prominently in the iron and allied trades. It was not until August that settlement was effected, principally through the poverty and distress of the strikers who were unable to hold out longer.

On October 26, 1913, occurred the first election under the new electoral law which provides for almost universal suffrage. At this election over 8,000,000 were given the voting privilege, whereas under the old law not more than 3,000,000 held the right of suffrage.

The Government won at this election and the Socialists showed great gains. This election meant the return of the Ministry of Signor Giolitti under whose Ministry the war with Tripoli was conducted. This administration, one of the most popular in the history of Italy, has governed the country for the last fifteen years with but few interruptions or defeats.

The election showed a small gain for the extremists and the various democratic parties, although the poor and illiterate classes voted for the first time at this election.

King Victor Emmanuel opened Parliament on December 18, 1913, with a speech that was aimed to explain and justify the foreign policy that led to the Annexation of Tripoli in 1912. Signor Giolitti's Ministry received a vote of confidence of 362 to 90, and apparently were, by their great majority, firmly entrenched in office. But as soon as the budget for 1913-1914 was brought in, the country at large and Parliament as well first began to realize the very serious financial problems that followed in the wake of annexation and administration of the new colony.

The surplus for the fiscal year 1912-1913 had been $22,800,000. In 1913, without counting the cost of the war, the excess of expenditures over revenues was $11,520,000. The scarcity of money was apparent everywhere, and industries and trades of all kind were seriously crippled.

Emigration took double the number of workers out of the country that had been the record of the previous year.

The final blow fell, however, when the Government was forced to admit that the cost of the African War to December 1, 1913, was the enormous sum of nearly $250,000,000, and that an additional $25,000,000 would be needed to complete the pacification of the new colony.

In Parliament the debates clearly brought out the fact that the military administration had been guilty of gross fraud as well as waste and loss directly due to inefficiency. So strong was the case made against the Government that the Ministry of Giolitti was forced to resign on March 10, 1914. After two weeks' conferences Signor Salandra was finally successful in forming a Ministry on March 24, 1914, with the following members who accepted portfolios as indicated:

Interior, Signor Salandra; Foreign Affairs, Marquis di San Giuliano; Colonies, Signor Martini; Justice, Signor Dari; Treasury, Signor Rubini; Finance, Signor Rava; War, General Grandi;

Marine, Admiral Milo; Public Instruction, Signor Cinfelli; Agriculture, Signor Cavasola; Posts and Telegraph, Signor Riccio.

In June, 1914, strikes again threatened to gain such headway that very serious problems in more than one labor center would result. The movement started at Ancona. Here the police and the strikers clashed over an order forbidding by the authorities an anti-military demonstration. While trying to enforce the order, the police finally fired upon the mob, killing two. The Labor and Socialist leaders immediately ordered strikes all over Italy, and for a short time it looked as if Italy was about to have her most desperate labor crisis. Gradually, however, calmer judgment prevailed, and satisfactory settlements were made that prevented further disorders.

When the war clouds began to gather in the early summer of 1914, Italy's stand, on account of her forming one of the Triple Alliance, the others being Austria and Germany, at once assumed great importance because of the huge bearing it might have on the outcome of the war.

Some idea of Italy's proposed action could be gained from her stand in 1913 when Austria asked her support in Austria's intended invasion of Serbia. Signor Giolitti then refused any action by Italy, claiming that the Triple Alliance was one for defense, not one for aggressive action. When the European War did break out in August, 1914, it was not surprising, therefore, that Italy at once announced her position as one of strict neutrality. The Italian Foreign Minister thus made known Italy's attitude toward her former allies.

Notwithstanding Italy's announced decision to remain neutral during the European War, steps were at once taken to push forward at greatest speed a programme of preparedness both military and naval. During the preparation for national defense and possible offensive operations, considerable dissatisfaction arose over the condition of the military organization. This led to the resignation of the Minister of War, General Grandi, who was succeeded by General Zupelli. The strongest advocate for Italy's firm stand for neutrality, the Foreign Minister Marquis Antonio di San Giuliano, died on October 16, 1914.

Chapter LI

ITALY'S POSITION IN THE FIRST YEAR OF THE GREAT WAR. 1914-1915

THE outbreak of the war created extremely difficult problems for Italy. Bound by the terms of the Triple Alliance to assist Germany and Austria-Hungary if either or both of these countries should be attacked, the question arose whether the war between the Central Powers and the Triple Entente had created such a condition. Germany maintained that through the mobilization of Russia and the attitude of Britain and France she was actually attacked, and she called on Italy to come to her aid. Italy, however, took the ground that both Germany and Austria-Hungary were making a war of aggression rather than of defense, and refused. In the beginning of the war, however, Italy maintained a rather friendly attitude at least toward Germany and showed no particular inclination to join Germany's enemies. Italy's position was a delicate one. Her political and economic interests forbade joining either side, while her long coastline and her seaports, which included some of the most important Italian towns, would be at the mercy of naval attacks. Her shipping could be annihilated by such sea powers as England and France. Other arguments for neutrality were based on industrial disorders, lack of preparation, uncertainty of outcome, and the anti-militaristic sentiment of the masses and the Vatican.

Popular opinion, however, in regard to this vital question was by no means all in favor of continued neutrality. There had always been a large group of politicians having considerable support who were strongly opposed to Italy's alliance with Austria-Hungary and who unwaveringly demanded the return to Italy of those portions of Austria-Hungary which had formerly been Italian possessions and which were still inhabited by Italian-speaking people. This group now reiterated its demands with renewed vigor. It combined forces more or less with the supporters of military preparedness. Discussions and controversies resulting made it necessary for Premier Salandra to make several changes in the composition of his cabinet. Early in October, 1914, the supporters of military preparedness who then were led by General Cadorna, Chief of the General Staff, gained the upper hand and some $35,000,000 was authorized for extraordinary military and naval expenses. This made it possible for the military authorities to keep the reservists, who in the Summer of 1914 had been called to the colors for their regular annual manoeuvres,with the colors up to the end of the year.

In the middle of October, 1914, the Foreign Minister, Marquis Antonio di San Giuliano, died. On November 1, the entire Cabinet resigned chiefly for the purpose of permitting Premier Salandra to redistribute the various portfolios to meet the existing political conditions. One of the most important Cabinet changes made at this time was the assumption of the foreign portfolio by Baron Sonnino, ex-Prime Minister and opposition leader. In December, 1914, Parliament met for two weeks. It passed a vote of confidence in the new ministry by a very large majority and authorized a loan of 1,000,000,000 lire as well as a 10% increase in the land and income taxes. In one of his speeches made during the discussions caused by these various measures, the Prime Minister openly expressed his hope that Italy, when the proper time had come, would take sufficiently energetic action to secure her national interests and to regain all Italian territory then in the possession of other nations.

As far as the Italian Colonies were concerned the entrance of Turkey into the war on the side of Germany and Austria-Hungary and the refusal on the part of Italy to do likewise made it necessary for Italy to be prepared against the possibility of a Holy War against Italy on the part of the Mohammedan inhabitants of Tripoli and Libia, especially the Senussi. In order to be prepared against all possibilities the Italian Government sent large reinforcements.

On August 20, Pope Pius X, after an eleven years' reign, died. Cardinal Della Chiesa, Archbishop of Bologna, was elected on September 3, 1914, as his successor. The conclave which elected him on its ninth ballot assembled on August 31, 1914. There were 57 Cardinals present, 30 of whom were Italians and 27 members of other nationalities. For the first time in the History of the Church an American Prelate, Cardinal Farley, Archbishop of New York, participated in a conclave, though his two colleagues, Cardinals Gibbons and O'Connell, did not arrive in time. The new Pope took the name of Benedict XV and was crowned on September 8, 1914.

During his first consistory, held on September 8, 1914, he urged the return to Peace. No definite steps in this direction, however, were taken at this time by the Vatican. The outbreak of the war, however, resulted in the reëstablishment of much of the former prestige of the Pope. Being the religious leader of large sections of the populations of all of the belligerents except, of course, the non-Christian countries, it was quickly appreciated by all the powers that it would be of great importance to have diplomatic representatives at the Vatican and with the exception of France all of the countries which previous to the outbreak of the war had not had such representatives, promptly dispatched them to Rome. Among these even England was to be found, her special envoy being a member of one of her old Roman Catholic noble families, Sir Henry Howard.

In December, 1914, great irritation was caused in Italy by the invasion on the part of Turkish soldiers of the Italian Consulate at Hodeida in Arabia. The Italian Government immediately made vigorous protests which were met by prompt apologies and by a settlement satisfactory to the Italian Government in January, 1915.

On January 13, 1915, Central Italy was visited by one of the most disastrous earthquakes on record. The territory affected included the mountain districts of the Abruzzi. The loss of life was placed at over 30,000 and the area of damage at about 56,000 square miles.

In order to counteract as far as possible the steadily increasing war spirit and pro-Ally sentiment the German Government, early in December, 1914, sent one of its most successful and best known diplomats, Prince von Buelow, ex-Chancellor, as a special Ambassador to the Court of Italy. Prince von Buelow was not only especially fitted for this enterprise by his long diplomatic training and experience, but he also possessed great personal influence in Italy. His wife was a member of one of the old Italian noble houses and it was hoped that the ex-Chancellor would not only succeed in keeping Italy out of the war, but even bring about a new understanding between Italy and Austria-Hungary.

There were other interests, too, which were expected to exert their influence in the same direction. For many years German banks and capitalists had made large investments in Italy and some of Italy's most important industries were more or less in the hands of Germans. The Clerical party also, or at least a large section of it, was supposed to be strongly in sympathy with Roman Catholic

Austria. Then, too, ex-Premier Giolitti and his political supporters were against Italy's entrance into the war, basing their demand for continued neutrality on adherence to the Triple Alliance. The Italian Socialists were opposed to war as against their principles of internationalism.

None of these anti-war influences, however, could stem the tide of popular demand for Italy's participation in the war on the side of the Allies. By the beginning of 1915, representatives of all political parties except the Socialists declared themselves in favor of any measures which might be necessary in order to accomplish Italy's national ideals and territorial aspirations. The Italian Parliament reconvened on February 18, 1915. The principal question before it was that of intervention in the war. Before Parliament adjourned in the latter part of March to meet again in the middle of May, it had passed a number of warlike measures authorizing strict treatment of spies and of contraband dealers, Government control of industries vital to the national defense and of wireless and aviation establishments.

In the meantime, Italy had been negotiating with Austria-Hungary with the object of inducing that nation to make such territorial concessions to Italy that the latter would find it unnecessary to go to war for the purpose of achieving her territorial aspirations. The official basis for the Italian demands on Austria-Hungary was a rather astonishing interpretation of some of the articles of the Triple Alliance. Italy accused Austria-Hungary of having violated Clause VII, which, in respect to the territorial *status quo* required that the various members of the Triple Alliance should "give reciprocally all information calculated to enlighten each other concerning their own intentions and those of other Powers. Should, however, the case arise that, in the course of events, the maintenance of the *status quo* in the Adriatic or the Ægean Sea become impossible, and that, either in consequence of the action of a third Power, or for any other reason, Austria-Hungary or Italy should be obliged to change the *status quo* for their part by a temporary or a permanent occupation, such occupation would take place only after previous agreement between the two Powers, which would have to be based upon the principle of a reciprocal compensation for all territorial or other advantages that either of them might acquire over and above the existing *status quo*, and would have to satisfy the interests and rightful claims of both parties."

Italy claimed that the Austro-Hungarian Government had neglected to advise Italy of its intention to send an ultimatum to Serbia and that Italy, therefore, now was entitled to compensation to offset the advantages which the Dual Monarchy might gain from her attack on Serbia. Under pressure from the German Government, Austria-Hungary, much to the surprise of everyone, acquiesced in March, 1915, to the principle on which Italy based her demands. While exerting pressure on Austria-Hungary, the German Government, as we have already told, sent Prince von Buelow to Rome in the hope that he might be able to moderate the Italian demands. Italian intervention was thus postponed, but by April, 1915, these demands had been increased and at that time included (1) the cession of the Trentino including the towns of Rovereto, Trent, and Bozen; (2) an extension of the eastern Italian frontier along the Isonzo River to include the strong positions of Tolmino, Gorizia, Gradisca, Plezzo, Monfalcone, and Malborghetto; (3) the erection of Trieste into an autonomous state; (4) the cession of several Dalmatian Islands; (5) the recognition of Italian sovereignty over Avlona, and the declaration of Austria-Hungary's disinterestedness in Albania.

At first Austria-Hungary practically refused these demands and on May 4, 1915, Italy denounced the Triple Alliance Treaty as far as it affected herself and Austria-Hungary. From then on the popular demand for Italy's active intervention grew by leaps and bounds. In order to determine whether this demand was simply a display of popular emotional enthusiasm, Prime Minister Salandra offered his resignation on May 14, 1915. The King, in response to unmistakable popular expressions, refused to accept the resignation. On May 20, 1915, the Prime Minister definitely asked Parliament for ratification of his war policy. By an overwhelming majority of 407 out of 481 votes, with only the Socialists and a few of Giolitti's adherents in opposition, the lower Chamber approved a bill conferring extraordinary powers on the Government and practically instructing it to declare war. The Senate followed suit the next day. On May 23, 1915, Italy declared war against Austria-Hungary and on May 24 active operations began.

Chapter LII

ITALY'S WAR EFFORT. 1915-1918

A FEW days before the actual break, Austria-Hungary had made a final attempt to induce Italy to maintain her neutrality by making the following offer: (1) the Italian part of the Tyrol; (2) the western bank of the Isonzo, "in so far as the population is purely Italian," and the town of Gradisca; (3) sovereignty over Avlona and a free hand in Albania; (4) special privileges for Italian nationals in the Dual Monarchy and amnesty for political prisoners who were natives of the ceded provinces; (5) Trieste to be made an imperial free city, receiving an administration giving an Italian character to the city and to have an Italian university. Austria-Hungary also expressed her willingness that these territorial readjustments should be made not at the conclusion of the war, but as soon as the new boundaries could be determined. This offer was refused.

In spite of Italy's entrance into the war no rupture took place between Italy and Germany, but on August 21, 1915, Italy declared war against Turkey, basing her declaration of war chiefly on the detention of Italian citizens in Turkish ports.

On December 1, 1915, Foreign Minister Sonnino announced to the Italian Parliament that Italy had formally declared her adhesion to the so-called Pact of London, an agreement signed in London on September 5, 1914, by representatives of Great Britain, France and Russia and by Japan, on October 19, 1915, binding any of these nations not to make peace except in concert with all the others. Premier Salandra received a vote of confidence from the Chamber of Deputies on December 4, 1915, only about 50 deputies being in opposition. A few days later Parliament granted the Government full financial powers for the next six months. The difficulties of the Salandra Cabinet increased greatly with the beginning of 1916. Matters were finally brought to a head by the military disasters suffered in the Spring, and on June 10, 1916, the Salandra Ministry resigned. On June 19, Signor Boselli, the dean of the Chamber of Deputies, formed a new cabinet. As in some of the other nations of the Allies, it was a coalition government. Parliament showed approval of the new Ministry by a vote of confidence, with only the extreme Socialists in opposition.

Among the war measures of importance which were instituted in 1916 should be mentioned: prohibition of trade with Germany, decreed on February 11 (duplicating a similar decree against trade with Austria-Hungary promulgated May 23, 1915); institution of free trade with Italy's allies for a period of five years in respect to all machinery, raw materials and manufactures essential to the development of home industries; launching of the third war loan on January 10, 1916; confiscation of the thirty-four German ships interned in Italian ports, on February 29, 1916; prohibition of the importation of luxuries and non-essential articles, May 16, 1916; subjection of all citizens of countries allied with Austria-Hungary to internment and to sequestration of their property, June, 1916.

The Dalmatian question, which arose primarily from the conflicting interests of Italy and Serbia (q. v.) on the eastern coast of the Adriatic, formed the subject of continuous discussions. Italy remained firm in demands for a large part of the Dalmatian coast and pointed out that, as the defence of the Adriatic would naturally fall upon her, the harbors on its eastern coast were necessary to her power.

The most vital political question of 1916, of course, was that of the future relations between Italy and Germany. As we have already seen, three measures taken against Germany were definitely along the road which would eventually lead to a break between the two countries. Prohibition against trade with Germany, subjecting German citizens to internment and their property to sequestration, and seizure of German interned merchantmen were the result of the steadily growing pressure which was brought to bear by the Allies on Italy in their efforts to bring about an open rupture between Italy and Germany. These efforts also found expression in visits to Rome on the part of the French Prime Minister in February, 1916, and of the British Prime Minister in April, 1916. A closer co-operation between Italy and the other Allies was also indicated by Italy's participation in March in the Allies' General War Council at Paris, and in June in the Allied Economic Conference at Paris (see FRANCE). Finally, on August 27, 1916, the formal declaration of war against Germany was made by Italy. The official basis for this step was Italy's accusation against Germany to the effect that the latter country was aiding and abetting Italy's enemies, Austria-Hungary and Turkey. Later on in the year, Italy again showed her desire to coöperate to the fullest possible extent with her allies by official assurances made by the Italian Prime Minister, Signor Boselli, that just as Italy had supported Rumania (q. v.) to the best of her ability she would support the Allied operations at Saloniki.

In some particulars, Italy was bound to suffer more than her richer allies. This was especially true in regard to finances and the coal supply. In 1917, coal was so scarce in Italy that it was claimed that more than a thousand square miles of forests had been cut down for use as firewood and in the preparation of charcoal. This excessive coal shortage caused not only much suffering during the cold season, but also serious disarrangements in the industrial and economic life of the country. Railway transportation became extremely difficult. To remedy this condition by the importation of coal in sufficiently large quantities either from England or the United States was practically impossible, both on account of the high prices prevailing and on account of the excessive difficulty in finding the necessary shipping facilities. Food as well as fodder was scarce. These facts contributed toward increasing unrest and a gradually growing lack of confidence in the Government. The Coalition Cabinet, formed chiefly for the purpose of carrying on the war in the most effective manner possible, had started out with considerable promise of success. Opposition against it in the beginning was restricted, but in spite of votes of confidence, the opposition gained ground, especially among the laboring classes and with the Radical Socialists. Dissensions also arose within the Ministry. A minor source of irritation was the composition of the Italian mission to the United States (q. v.), sent in June, 1917. For the time being, a real crisis was avoided by the resignation of the three dissenting members of the Cabinet and by its reconstruction in June, 1917. When Parliament resumed its sessions early in July, Signor Boselli was still in the saddle and he, as well as Foreign Minister Sonnino, apparently succeeded in satisfying Parliament in regard to their foreign, domestic and military policies.

Then came the great Italian retreat in autumn, 1917, and the invasion of the northeast corner of Italy. General Cadorna, the Commander-in-Chief, and Baron Sonnino, the Foreign Minister, were the objects of violent attacks. On October 25, 1917, the

Boselli Ministry fell. On October 31 it was succeeded by a new Cabinet headed by Orlando, who had held the portfolio of Justice under Salandra and that of the Interior under Boselli. Again Baron Sonnino was made Foreign Minister. The new Cabinet immediately sent despatches to the French and British Cabinets and to President Wilson reaffirming their faith in Italy's Allies and Italy's unfaltering intention to "carry on." Italy was ably represented at the great Allied Conference which opened in Paris November 29, 1917. (See FRANCE.)

On August 1, 1917, Pope Benedict XV called on all the belligerent powers to consider the possibilities of an early and lasting peace. The chief points on which such a peace should be based were: (1) the replacing of material force by "the moral force of right;" (2) a "simultaneous and reciprocal decrease of armaments;" (3) settlement of international disputes by arbitration; (4) a guarantee of "true freedom and community of the seas;" (5) mutual renunciation of indemnities, although allowing for exceptions where "certain particular reasons" would seem to justify it; (6) evacuation and restoration of all occupied territories; (7) an examination "in a conciliatory spirit" of rival territorial claims such as those of the Alsace-Lorraine and the Trentino, taking into account the "aspirations of the population." The Allies did not reply separately, all of them accepting, as embodying their own views, the reply made by President Wilson. (See UNITED STATES.) Both Germany and Austria made official replies.

From the beginning of the war Italy called to the colors almost 5,500,000 men and lost nearly 1,500,000 of them. About 350,000 died in battle; 100,000 from disease. More than 550,000 were totally incapacitated, by blindness, loss of limb, or tuberculosis. At the close of the war, the strength of the Italian Army was 4,025,000, including the class of men born in 1900. But Italy had inflicted great punishment upon the foe. She took approximately a million prisoners. In the June offensive on the Piave some 200,000 Austrian dead were left on the field. Italy's soldiers fought through fifteen great offensives on the Isonzo and the Piave and carried campaigns in mountainous regions and under rigorous weather conditions that taxed to the utmost the genius of the military engineers and the endurance of the troops. Italian warships were of great importance in the Adriatic and the Mediterranean. Italian inventive genius solved many problems of aerial warfare.

Chapter LIII

INDUSTRY, FINANCE AND POLITICS. 1915-1919

ITALY'S war effort included the construction of more than 2,500 miles of roads in the mountains of Italy and Albania, with a thousand miles of aerial cable railroads (teleferiche) to carry food, ammunition and guns over deep ravines. The magnitude of her effort, military, industrial and financial, is particularly evident when compared with Italy's economic structure and resources. The proportion of adult males to population had been reduced by emigration, so that out of 36,000,000 inhabitants the adult males numbered only about 9,000,000. Instead of aid from colonial contingents, Italian troops had to be used to reinforce those in the colonies. Skilled workmen from Italy were sent to France. There was a continuous shortage of labor for agriculture and industry; yet Italy, lacking labor and industrial development, lacking coal and other raw materials, by sheer genius created a powerful organization of war industries. Her financial effort was also notable. The total cost of the war was estimated at about $12,000,000,000, and during its progress five loans were floated, that after the disaster of October, 1917, alone yielding about $1,300,000,000.

On May 14, 1918, the Congress of the Italian Socialists' Union was opened at Rome. Two members of the Cabinet, who were also Socialists, although they had left the official Socialist Party when its tendencies became more and more radical, participated. They were Signors Bissolati and Berenini. The outcome of the Congress was the definite commitment of the Italian Socialists' Union against Bolshevism and other radical movements. Another Congress of Socialists was held in Rome in the beginning of September, 1918. Although in this Congress the extreme Revolutionist group was in the majority, a resolution brought in condemnatory of the Parliamentary group failed to pass.

A storm had been brewing for some time within the Cabinet. Signor Bissolati strongly disagreed with Baron Sonnino, Minister of Foreign Affairs, on the subject of the Peace Settlement especially as it affected Italy's interests on the East Coast of the Adriatic.

Baron Sonnino was the principal supporter of Italy's territorial demands. He apparently desired for Italy not only all the compensation promised in the Pact of London, but, if possible, additional areas. Signor Bissolati disapproved of these imperialistic tendencies and claimed that it was essential for the continued peace and development of Italy that the hopes of the Yugoslavs should be realized, at least within moderate limits. As a result of this disagreement, Signor Bissolati had resigned in September, 1918, but after some conciliation, withdrew his resignation. After the Armistice between Italy and Austria-Hungary, November 4, 1918, the expansionists gained ground. Signor Francesco Saverio Nitti, then at the head of the Treasury, sided with Bissolati and both resigned on December 29, 1919. To some extent their resignations may have been influenced by the speeches President Wilson had made in Italy during the visit following his arrival in Europe at the head of the American Peace Delegation (see UNITED STATES.) The two ministers who had resigned apparently interpreted the President's speeches as supporting their own conciliatory attitude toward the Yugoslavs, and may have expected the King to take the same point of view and that their resignations would bring about the resignation of the rest of the Cabinet. If so, they were mistaken. Their resignations were accepted and, it is true, followed by those of some other Cabinet members, but Prime Minister Orlando remained in the saddle and so did Baron Sonnino.

Italian representatives to the Peace Conference (see FRANCE) at this time were: Vittorio Orlando, Prime Minister; Baron Sidney Sonnino, Foreign Minister; Antonio Salandra, ex-Premier; Marquis Salvago-Raggi, ex-Ambassador to France; General Count Mario di Robilant; Salvatore Barzilai, well-known deputy and prominent in the Irredentist group.

In the early spring of 1919, grave complications arose at the Peace Conference (see FRANCE), over the questions of the ultimate disposition of Fiume and Dalmatia. The interests of Italy and Yugoslavia conflicted and an open break was avoided with difficulty. On April 24, 1919, Premier Orlando, General Diaz, and Signor Barzilai left Paris and returned to Rome. Baron Sonnino followed them a few days later. This did not, however, mean an actual rupture with the Conference. On April 29, Premier Orlando presented his position to Parliament and received a vote of confidence by a ballot of 382 to 40, the Opposition being represented by

Socialists. The Italian Senate gave a vote of confidence the next day. The delegation, thus fortified by national approval, returned to Paris on May 5, 1919.

A new political party, known as the Italian Popular Party, or the Catholic Popular Party had come into being. Its platform included reorganization of national economy, guarantee of the rights of labor, solution of the agrarian question, proportional representation, reform of the Senate, administrative decentralization, and support of a League of Nations, general disarmament, publicity of treaties, and compulsory arbitration.

In June, 1919, a Cabinet crisis developed. At a sitting of the Chamber of Deputies on June 19, 1919, when peace with Germany and Austria and the Government's general foreign policy were discussed, the Chamber voted, against the wishes of Premier Orlando, for a secret session to discuss the foreign policy of the Government. Prime Minister Orlando, previous to the taking of the vote, declared that the Government was in need of full confidence on the part of Parliament and would consider the motion for a secret session as a question of confidence. Yet the motion was passed by a vote of 259 to 78. The Orlando Cabinet resigned and on June 22, 1919, a new Cabinet was formed under the leadership of Signor Nitti. Signor Tittoni had the portfolio of Foreign Affairs. Nitti had been a member of the Orlando Cabinet up to January, 1919, when he resigned because of disagreement with Orlando and Sonnino on the Adriatic question. He was the most prominent supporter of Giovanni Giolitti, famous pre-war Prime Minister. With the change in Cabinet came a change in the composition of the Italian Peace Conference delegates. The new delegation had Foreign Minister Tittoni at its head and included Senators Scialoja, Marconi and Ferraris.

Signor Nitti's path was difficult. There was strong, loud, but futile opposition to the new Premier, carried on in newspapers and by public demonstration. The new Cabinet devoted itself primarily to the solution of the economic and industrial problems facing Italy, putting the questions of the Peace into the background. The principal policies for which Nitti stood were electoral reforms, a new tariff to protect Italian specialties and to remove duties from foreign raw materials and cheap foreign manufactured articles, and the establishment of credits in foreign countries. His Foreign Minister at Paris successfully worked toward a closer coöperation between Italy and her Allies and a gradual solution of the difficult Fiume problem. At home, reconstruction work was pushed with vigor and considerable success. Late in June a severe earthquake did great damage to property and life, in Tuscany and the provinces of Florence, Arezzo and Siena. In July, serious food riots occurred. On July 8, Royal decrees were published reducing the prices of food and providing severe penalties for profiteers.

In midsummer of 1919, the report of the Government Commission which investigated the Caporetto disaster was made public. It attributed that Italian defeat to three principal causes: The influence of defeatist propaganda carried on by the enemy and by certain Socialist and Clerical organizations; political interference with military plans; underestimation of the enemy's forces on the part of the military authorities and lack of military preparation and material. General Cadorna, Chief of the General Staff, and Generals Porro and Capello were blamed.

On September 1, 1919, it was announced that the King had expressed his intention to turn over all the very extensive domains of the Crown to the State for the benefit of the people. Three days later, on September 4, 1919, Italian women were granted National Suffrage by the Parliament.

The Fiume question seemed to be reaching a point of solution and compromise, when suddenly, and without warning, on September 13, 1919, Italian volunteers, led by Gabriele d'Annunzio, the chauvinistic poet-aviator, took forcible possession of the city of Fiume. The step was highly embarrassing to the Italian Government, but it was impossible to persuade D'Annunzio and his followers to retire. The use of force against him, considering the popular attitude both toward the poet himself and toward the cause he was championing, was practically out of the question.

The continued occupation of Fiume by D'Annunzio and his threatened expeditions against other cities in Dalmatia, naturally aroused resentment among the Yugoslavs, but for the most part the new nation of Yugoslavia maintained admirable self-control.

Chapter LIV

AFTER THE WAR—FASCISM. 1920—

TO understand the course of events in Italy after the World War, from which Italy emerged a victor, but dissatisfied, it is necessary to remember the peculiar difficulties that faced the nation. Italy is a comparatively small country. Exclusive of colonies, the area is 117,982 square miles. The population, 38,835,941, is almost as great as that of France, and more than a third that of the United States. To provide for so numerous a people on an area not half that of Texas, agriculture and industry must be carried on intensively and commerce must be constantly fostered. Italy's problem is far more difficult than that of most densely populated nations, for the country is almost entirely destitute of iron, coal and petroleum, the necessities in building up manufactures. Italy's supplies of such staples and of many other raw materials are brought by British, French and Dutch ships, usually on their way to the Near East or the Far East. The vessels replenish or complete their cargoes in Italian ports, giving comparatively cheap freight rates, so that Italy was able to compete in various markets. In Europe, before the war, Italy's best customers were the Central nations, Germany, Austria-Hungary and Switzerland.

The war, and later Italy's entrance into it, destroyed the ordinary course of both industry and commerce. Markets no longer existed and the supply of raw materials became very limited. When the war ended, this state of affairs continued. The derangement of exchange was another difficulty. The country had suffered a disastrous invasion and faced a considerable reconstruction problem. Unemployment, high prices, high and unusual taxes, and general dissatisfaction with the methods taken by the government to relieve the situation, made the Italian masses ever ready to be influenced by Communist and Bolshevist propaganda. Labor troubles were accompanied by violence.

In June, 1920, there was a change in Government. Francesco Nitti, Premier, resigned. Giolitti came back to power. He appeared at first to lean toward the Socialists, who seemed particularly strong as a political power. Strikes and lockouts continued to add to the general depression. Workmen were occupying factories. With these, the Premier was lenient and endeavored to settle matters without bloodshed. Measures taken to restore financial equilibrium often had the opposite effect and were unpopular. They included investigation of war expenses; confiscation of war profits; compulsory registration of securities; heavy inheritance taxes; other measures of similar purport. Moreover, Giolitti was believed to be too ready to agree with French plans that were not altogether popular in Italy.

In opposition to Communists and Socialists, a new organization was beginning to show virility. Its members were called the Fascisti, taking their name from the old Roman emblem of the lictors, before whom the *fasces,* a bundle of rods enclosing an axe, used to be carried as a sign of disciplinary power. The Fascisti or Fascists not only opposed but fought the Reds, and grew rapidly in numbers and power.

D'Annunzio, who had occupied and held Fiume with the aid of Italian soldiers and sailors since September 12, 1919, had remained there in spite of all the efforts of Italy, Yugoslavia and the Allies. The Pact of London had awarded Fiume to Croatia, now a part of Yugoslavia (Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes). Various plans had been offered for a compromise which would give Yugoslavia an Adriatic port and yet satisfy to some degree the Italian claims. D'Annunzio rejected them. Finally the two countries came to an agreement and signed the Treaty of Rapallo, in November, 1920. This gave Fiume to Italy and most of Dalmatia to Yugoslavia. The Italian Government then ordered a blockade of Fiume, with the result that on December 30, 1920, D'Annunzio agreed to leave, which he did on January 18, 1921.

Fights between Fascisti and Socialists became of frequent occurrence, the Fascisti usually being the victors. They were now armed and disciplined and wore black shirts and green knickerbockers as a kind of a uniform. They were not afraid of bloodshed. In one city after another they installed themselves by violence. Premier Luigi Facta, who had succeeded Bonomi, who in turn had supplanted Giolitti, tried and failed to organize a bloc against them. On October 24, 1922, a great Fascist Congress was held. The members declared that they were the real government, that of Facta being ineffective and useless; then they marched on Rome to demand control. Facta resigned, and after attempting to have a Cabinet formed by Salandra, the King made Benito Mussolini Premier. This forceful leader had been an unusually active writer, editor and leader for the extreme Socialist and Labor parties. He had opposed the war in Tripoli, and even so late as June, 1914, had taken a vigorous part in the violence of "Red Week." The World War, however, changed the one-time Socialist into an ardent Nationalist and Irredentist, ready at all costs to further Italy's aspirations. He opposed giving aid to the Central Powers. Called to the colors, he fought as a private, was seriously wounded, and went back to his paper. When Bolshevism first appeared in Italy, Mussolini opposed it by founding the first Fascist organization, "Fascio di Combattimeno" on March 23, 1919. Three years and a half later, as we see, the Fascists were able to impose on all Italy a rigid discipline, which, however, led toward prosperity. Mussolini (Il Duce) assumed the King's place at the council table and directed the government as Premier, Minister of the Interior and Minister of Foreign Affairs.

The new Premier believed in government by experts. He carried out his policy of economy by reducing the number of ministers and other officials. He placed an economist, Corvino, at the head of the combined ministries of Public Works, Labor, Commerce, Industry and Agriculture, and applied the same policy to other branches of government. He dropped the unpopular inheritance tax and the registration of securities. He radically changed the education system. He favored recognition of Russia, because of the importance of reviving Italy's markets in the Near East, and in December, 1923, approved commercial treaties with Russia, Switzerland, Austria and Czechoslovakia.

For the most part, Mussolini's foreign policies were well considered. His course with regard to the Janina incident, when he refused the intervention of the League of Nations and bombarded Corfu, to enforce acquiescence to his ultimatum to Greece, was popular at home but much criticized abroad. In no other instance affecting other nations did he proceed with such arbitrary violence.

On March 16, 1924, in accordance with a new treaty with Yugoslavia, Fiume was formally annexed to Italy. D'Annunzio received the highest order of knighthood, with the title of Count of Fiume and Prince of Monte Nevoso. Italy sought friendships and commercial opportunities through treaties, and encouraged Hungary to employ the ports of Trieste and Fiume for outlets. With

Great Britain, she settled the boundary line of Italian Somaliland.

On April 6, 1924, the Fascists were victorious in the elections, receiving 65 per cent of the votes, which entitled them, under the new election law, to two-thirds of the seats. The Opposition was much divided, the Catholic Popular Party having 40 seats; Socialists, Liberals and others, even fewer. The Fascists were accused of using force to control the elections.

Matteotti was the most outspoken opponent of the Fascist régime. He was a young man, Secretary-General of the United Socialists, a member of Parliament, and on the budget committee. He was expected to speak in the budget debate on June 11, 1924, and was said to have in his possession papers that might incriminate leading Fascists. On June 10, Matteotti disappeared—he had been kidnapped by five men in an automobile. To show their indignation, the Opposition left while the budget vote was taken. On August 16, the body of Matteotti was found in a ditch near Fiano, some sixteen miles north of Rome. When Parliament reopened on November 12, 1924, many members were absent. A Communist deputy declared that the murderers of Matteotti were present.

Mussolini issued a manifesto on December 1, 1924, urging the Fascisti leaders to repress all violence in political action. On December 20, he announced that a new election law, similar to the old law, abrogated in 1923, was being prepared. Parliament was convened on January 12, 1925, and in a speech at the opening of that body Premier Mussolini declared that the Government would take active measures to suppress the Opposition and its press. He demanded that the political situation be cleared and that his Government be given support by all factions of the country. At once a strict censorship was instituted, and many newspapers, especially those of socialistic principles, were suppressed. A bill to control secret societies, which was aimed principally against the Italian Freemasons, was at once introduced, also one that had to do with revising the Italian Constitution.

In January, a new Ambassador to the United States was appointed, Baron Giacomo de Martino, who was transferred from Tokio. It was stated that the new Ambassador would be empowered to open negotiations upon the war debts due to the United States from Italy. In February, the Senate approved the new Election Law. The question of repayment of foreign debts aroused much feeling throughout Italy. The Opposition joined with the Fascisti in pleading Italy's inability to pay such debts on score of her taxes already imposed. It was also pointed out that whereas Great Britain and France had obtained vast areas in colonial mandates, Italy had benefited little in this direction. The cancellation of all such debts was even openly advocated. In February, the trial of those indicted for the Matteotti murder was again postponed.

A large increase of exports and the wiping out of the deficit in railroad expenditures aided in bringing the country's financial status to a firmer basis. A gradual reduction of the internal debt was accomplished, and betterment in financial conditions was marked.

Premier Mussolini's illness in March caused much anxiety to his followers and his party in power. He was able to appear in the Chamber of Deputies, however, on March 27, and was received with wildest enthusiasm.

An Army Reform Bill, reducing the strength of the regular army from 200,000 to 140,000, was presented in the Senate by the War Minister, General Antonino Di Giorgio. It was opposed by the army leaders, Generals Diaz and Cadorna, and Premier Mussolini postponed action on the measure. The Minister of War at once resigned, and Mussolini added the duties of this branch of Government to his own.

In March, occurred the first serious strikes since the Fascist Government came into power. A compromise was effected before open revolt had developed among the strikers. Much political unrest, however, continued during April, 1925, riots occurring in Rome, Florence, Milan and other cities between the Fascists and the Communists. The Matteotti murder was the basis of much of the rioting, and Premier Mussolini was charged with having had knowledge of the plans to kidnap Matteotti and with having been instrumental in hushing up details of the subsequent murder.

A new cable establishing direct communication between Italy and the United States was formally opened on March 16, the first cable laid that directly connects the two countries.

In April, the budget was at last balanced and determined effort begun to stabilize the value of the lira. Economic conditions continued to improve and the excess of imports over exports grew smaller and smaller. More than 1,000,000,000 paper lire were withdrawn from circulation in an effort to stem the continued decline in value of the lira. Rigid censorship of the press was maintained despite protests from newspapers in all of the large cities. A revision of the censorship law was unofficially announced as considered by the Government, although no definite word had yet come from Premier Mussolini.

On April 21, 1925, the 2,678th anniversary of the founding of Rome was celebrated. This date has been made a national holiday throughout Italy. King Victor Emanuel III formally opened the Forum of Augustus, where extensive excavations had been going on for more than a year.

New discussions were begun with Great Britain over the Libian-Egyptian boundary, an outcome of Italy's taking Libia in 1911.

In May, the Finance Minister, Alberto De Stefani, announced that a loan of $50,000,000 had been secured through the American bankers, J. P. Morgan and Company, to check further decline of the lira.

On June 7, King Victor Emanuel celebrated the completion of twenty-five years as ruler of Italy. Public demonstrations and felicitations took place in every hamlet, town and city. In the same month, Gabriele d'Annunzio, who was thought to be in the ranks of the Opposition, was visited by Mussolini. The differences of these leaders were believed to be reconciled.

The Italian Senate, sitting as a High Court, decided on June 27, 1925, that General De Bono, Fascist head of the police, was innocent of any connection with the murder of Matteotti in June, 1924.

The continued instability of the lira and its depreciation in spite of every effort by the Government, caused the resignation of the Finance Minister, De Stefani, on July 8. Count Giuseppe Volpi was appointed in his place. In September, Count Volpi was able to state that the first month of the fiscal year, 1925-1926, showed a surplus of 71,000,000 lire, and that the value of the lira had advanced from 3½ to 4 cents. Exports during the first six months of 1925 showed decided gains, but the trade balance was still against Italy as there was a heavy increase in imports.

Strict censorship of the press extended even to foreign correspondents; In July, the American correspondent of a Chicago paper was expelled from Italy for writing to an American paper statements that reflected on the Mussolini Government. In September, renewed Government activities leading to the suppression of Freemasonry in Italy brought about open conflict in Rome and other centers. In October, Premier Mussolini issued a decree abolishing home rule in towns of 5,000 inhabitants and less, also doing away with municipal government in Rome itself. This measure, it was stated, was devised to strengthen the Fascist administration throughout the country. In October, 1925, Italy celebrated the third anniversary of the Fascist march on Rome and assumption of power. The ceremonies at the capital were elaborate and enthusiasm was marked throughout Italy.

The Senate convened on November 14 and immediately took up the proposed enactments relative to censorship of the press, suppression of secret societies and readjustment of the judiciary. The Chamber of Deputies opened on November 18. A bill was passed aimed at punishing Italian refugees abroad who might plot against the Government. By the terms of this measure, the property of such refugees could be sequestrated or confiscated.

On December 2, the Court of Public Prosecutions ordered released from imprisonment the last of the Matteotti prisoners, Cesare Rossi, Giovanni Marrinelli and Fillippo Fillipelli. The Court decided that although they might have been instrumental in the Matteotti kidnapping, they were blameless of the murder itself. The result was hailed as a decided victory for the Fascists.

Both houses adjourned on December 19, 1925. Many important measures were passed during the session of the Italian Parliament, including that giving the Government power to confiscate the property of Italians who had fled abroad and still kept up their political activities against the Government; the law making the Premier responsible solely to the King, instead of jointly to King and Parliament; that establishing the Fascist Employers' Association and the Fascist Labor Union; the law for appointment by the Government of the heads of all communes of 5,000 population or less; that doing away with local elections and self-government; a measure giving the Government the right to govern by decree until such time as the acts could be approved by Parliament. On January 2, 1926, the Government instituted the Royal Academy of Italy, which, it is intended, will have all the prestige in Italy of the French Academy in France.

Queen Margherita, widow of King Humbert and mother of Victor Emanuel III, died on January 4, 1926.

In January and February, 1926, Premier Mussolini almost brought about an open rupture with Germany by his stern treatment of the Germans in Italy's one-time Austrian territory of Southern Tyrol. The German Foreign Minister, Dr. Stresemann, on February 9, took up the cudgels for the oppressed German populace in a speech, declaring that Italy had made a solemn covenant in 1919 to safeguard the German interests and to pursue a liberal policy toward the German-speaking people in the annexed districts. Premier Mussolini, in a speech on February 10, denied that Italy had taken any measures in her government of the Southern Tyrol annexed territories that were inimical to the German-speaking inhabitants, or unnecessary to Italian rule in the annexed districts.

On January 14, 1926, Premier Mussolini's supreme control of the Government was accentuated by the King's decree, changing Mussolini's title to "Head of the Government," instead of the one he bore of "President of the Council of Ministers." The year was to prove one of consolidation for the Fascist régime.

The aftermath of the Matteotti trial, for the kidnapping and murder of the Socialist leader in 1924, came in March at the trial of five men who played minor parts in the tragedy. Two were acquitted and three sentenced to five years' imprisonment, which, through recent political amnesty was reduced to only about three months. This ended the most famous case in Italian political history of recent years.

A new Secretary-General of the Fascist Party, Augusto Turati, was selected in March.

An attempt to assassinate Premier Mussolini was made by an English woman on April 7. He was only slightly wounded, but the attack aroused intense public excitement and made Mussolini to a greater degree than ever the country's idol. The would-be assassin, a Miss Gibson, was proved of unsound mind and deported. The day after the attempted assassination Premier Mussolini departed for Tripoli in accordance with plans long made to make an official tour of Italian colonial possessions in Africa. He stayed there five days, inspecting the principal centers of administration control. His return was featured by a wildly demonstrative reception at Rome. In April, also, vigorous measures were taken to suppress the Mafia, a secret society that has been for centuries the foe of law and order in the island of Sicily. The Government announced its determination to stamp out the Black Hand organization, regardless of time and expense entailed in the undertaking. New Fascist labor legislation was a feature of politics during May and June, 1926. A new system was determined on by the Cabinet in May, under which only Fascist labor organizations are to be approved. All producers will be unionized, one union only for each trade or craft. Memberships in these national unions are to be restricted to Italians. All labor disputes must be settled by compulsory arbitration, for which special courts are created.

A budget with estimated surplus of 190,000,000 lire was passed by the Chamber of Deputies on June 3. The Government, during the early summer months of 1926, was much disquieted by the balance of trade against the country. Drastic efforts were made to curtail importations of whatever kind. To increase the output of exports, the work day was lengthened from eight hours to nine in all industries and this was established by a decree of June 29. The same decree curtailed the size of newspapers, restricting them to six pages; prohibited the opening of new hotels, cabarets, and dance houses; and directed that all building activities should be limited to houses of moderate cost, chiefly designed for the working classes. Italian shipping interests were aided, both in freight and passenger service, by the granting of subsidies and various tax rebates. The failure of the Bank of Parma, through corrupt accountancy, caused much financial distress. The bank had more than twenty branches throughout Italy.

The National Institute of Exportations was instituted on July 8, with the object of collecting and distributing information to help the country produce more and consume less, and to thereby increase exports. New public educational projects were featured in an act passed in August. These included the ordering of construction of thirty-five hundred new rural school buildings and also a number of secondary school edifices.

August 1 was the celebration throughout Italy of the seven hundredth anniversary of the death of Saint Francis of Assisi.

A decree for abolishing municipal elections in all cities and towns of Italy, and providing for the heads of all city and town governments to be appointed by the central government of Italy was promulgated on August 30, 1926. More than 1,700 cities were affected. Rome and Naples only retained their status, but Rome is ruled by a Governor with special officials, and Naples by a High Commissioner appointed by the Government. Neither of these important cities retains an elective officer.

An important step toward stabilizing the lira was taken by the Government on August 31 when the Finance Minister, Count Volpi, announced that the paper money circulation would be at once decreased by 3,000,000,000 lire and that yearly thereafter 500,000,000 lire would be withdrawn from circulation. The gold reserve of the National Bank of Italy was at the same time increased by 500,000,000 gold lire. Treasury bonds totaling 500,000,000 lire were also withdrawn and a like amount was to be recalled in October. The balance of trade during the first six months of 1926 was slightly against the country, notwithstanding all the Government's efforts to swell exports and to minimize imports.

Premier Mussolini again escaped assassination, now for a third time, when a bomb was thrown at his automobile while passing through the streets of Rome on September 11. He was uninjured, but several bystanders were wounded, none fatally. The attempt on his life aroused intense bitterness among his followers against those who had in any measure combated his reforms. The enthusiasm displayed by the public over his miraculous deliverance mounted to almost frenzy and radically strengthened and stiffened the Fascist cause. The would-be assassin proved to be an Italian youth, an anarchist, who made his headquarters in France. This fact caused strong public protests against France and the French authorities on the score that they had knowingly harbored dangerous expatriates of various nationalities and particularly Italian criminals who had escaped punishment for their crimes at home. So strong was the feeling manifested, that Premier Poincaré of France protested to the Italian Government that France was in no manner to blame and declared that the sole fault lay with the Italian police for not having better control in criminal affairs. It was later learned that a Paris anti-Fascist Italian newspaper had some connection with the case.

Another measure to break up the Mafia secret society in Sicily was passed on September 25, authorizing the police to arrest and deport any citizen who was charged with being dangerous or detrimental to the public good.

A conference between the British Foreign Minister, Austen Chamberlain, and Premier Mussolini, on September 30, may effect a better understanding between Great Britain and Italy.

The fourth anniversary of the Fascist march on Rome was celebrated October 28 to 31, 1926. On the final day of this commemoration, another attempt was made to assassinate Mussolini. This occurred at Bologna and was the fourth such attempt in a little over a year. His assailant was killed by the infuriated onlookers. The Government took action looking to better protection of the Head of the Government. On November 5, an act was passed instituting the death penalty for any one attempting to murder the King or the Head of the Government. Opposition to Fascist Government is to be met with stern measures and punishment by long terms of imprisonment and confiscation of property.

On November 7, the Finance Minister, Count Volpi, announced the consolidation of 20,500,000,000 lire of the country's floating debt. A new loan, bearing five per cent interest, will be partially taken up by forcing holders of Treasury bonds to convert these into the new loan. In October, the national trade balance was announced as leaving a surplus of 60,000,000 lire to Italy. It was the first time in years that exports had outstripped imports. This was not due, however, to greatly augmented exports, but rather to curtailment of imports. On December 9, Count Volpi announced decided improvement in national finances and pointed with pride to the balanced budget, increased national revenues, decreases in pubic expenditures and substantial reduction in the national debt. In February, 1927, it was announced that the new internal loan had been successfully raised. The amount was 3,000,000,000 lire and more than 3,000,000 Italian citizens subscribed. A tax on bachelors was instituted by an act passed on February 9, 1927, by the Cabinet Council. The tax was 25 lire for all between the ages of 25 to 35, 35 lire for those from 35 to 50, and 25 lire for those whose ages are from 50 to 65.

Self-government for Cyrenaica and Tripoli was revoked by an act approved by the Cabinet on March 9, 1927. These colonies will have Governors, appointed by the Mussolini Government, whose powers will be purely administrative. The legislative powers will be exercised by the central Government at Rome.

The Italian aviator, Francesco de Pinedo, flew in February, 1927, from the Cape Verde Islands to an island off the Brazil mainland, on a tour of the two American continents. His achievement caused intense enthusiasm throughout Italy.

The Fascist Government announced in April its opposition to the emigration of Italian citizens, especially those going to countries that quickly assimilated them into its body politic. The Commissariat of Emigration was transferred to the Foreign Office, and it was planned that attempts would be made to place Italians living abroad under some control of the Italian consuls at their new places of residence. The emigration of Italians to countries like the United States, in which they are absorbed as citizens, was a matter for concern.

On April 5, 1927, a treaty of friendship and arbitration with Hungary was signed. This was along the lines of those already entered into with Czechoslovakia, Rumania and Albania, and marks the generally propitious nature of Mussolini's foreign policy.

The new Labor Charter was promulgated on April 21, 1927, a kind of Bill of Rights, clearly setting forth the principles upon which the Fascist Unions are to operate under general supervision of the Fascist Government, which acts as a general guardian, for both employers and employees.

Chapter LV

LITERATURE AND ART OF MODERN ITALY

THE earliest attempts at literary composition in the modern Romance dialects were those of the Provençal poets or troubadours. Their songs, written in a language closely allied to the dialects of North Italy, easily found entrance into that country, and served as examples of composition in popular language which were soon followed throughout the whole peninsula, and more especially in Sicily. These early compositions prepared the way for Dante, Boccaccio, and Petrarch, who adorned the first rise of Italian literature with a genius and a glory that have never been eclipsed to the present day. Of their merits we have already spoken in a former chapter.

The second era of Italian literature, that of the fifteenth century, and represented mainly by the scholars who clustered around the court of Lorenzo de' Medici, was altogether of a different character. The romantic age had passed; the classical age had now set in. Every scholar considered it his first duty to go back to the models of antiquity, and his greatest glory was to be able to write Latin prose and poetry with purity and elegance. So great was the love of classical antiquity that modern ideas, even those of Christian theology, were looked upon with a certain amount of indifference and contempt. Philology flourished to an unprecedented degree, testified by the names of Poggio Bracciolini, Laurentius Valla, Marcilius Ficino, Pico of Mirandola, and a number of others, whose reputation for classical learning has come down even to the present day. Under these influences it is no wonder that native Italian literature languished, and that no great popular poets or writers arose to carry onward the impulse given by Dante and Petrarch. The learning and culture of the age indeed were remarkable, far excelling what then existed in any other country; but they developed themselves in the form of imitations of classical antiquity rather than in the development of native genius.

The next era of Italian literature, however, that of the sixteenth century, showed a great revival of national life. It was the age of the so-termed *Cinquecentisti*—the age of Leo X., of Raphael and Michael Angelo, of Ariosto, Machiavelli, and Tasso. While in most of the other countries of Europe the dawn of the revival of letters was only just appearing, Italy was now enjoying its meridian splendor, and attracting scholars from every part of Europe to bask in the sunshine. Historians, biographers, poets, essayists, critics, novelists, jurists, mathematicians, and metaphysicians of greater or lesser degree of excellence abounded in every part of the country, not to mention the great masters of Italian art. Numerous academies of science and literature were formed in the larger towns, and would doubtless have continued to maintain the glorious intellectual position to which the country had been raised had not the deadening influence of the Spanish occupation, and the bitter persecution with which the Inquisition visited all attempts at free thought and scientific development, soon cast a gloom over the country, and repressed all independent literary activity.

It is not, therefore, a matter of surprise that the seventeenth century showed a great falling off in the whole character and extent of Italian literature. Still, individuals arose from time to time who maintained the honor of their country, and took their place in the great European republic of letters. It is, however, rather in the department of science and philosophy than that of poetry and literature that the seventeenth century especially distinguished itself. It was now that Galileo discovered the pendulum, and was threatened with the strong hand of the Inquisition for maintaining the revolution of the earth round the sun. It was during this age that Volta and Torricelli made those magnetic discoveries which have handed their names down to posterity.

It was somewhat later in the same century that Vico wrote the "*Scienza Nuova,*" and formed in so doing an epoch in the departments of philosophy and history; that Antonio Serra became celebrated for his contributions to political science, and that Muratori laid the foundation for a deeper method of historical criticism.

But the national spirit which alone gives rise to the higher forms of literature was now at a low ebb. The country was invaded by a passion for imitating French models, and it was not till the latter part of the eighteenth century that a new life began to spring up, and a new literature to make its appearance. This revival of native literary activity was heralded by Goldoni, whose writings gave a new stimulus to the national drama and prepared the way for Alfieri[1] to reconstruct the tragedy. Neither was it in poetry and the drama only that the revival of Italian literature manifested itself. Carlo Denina obtained so great a reputation as a historical writer that, after having completed his great work on the revolutions of Italy, he was invited by Frederick II. of Prussia to Berlin, with the view of writing a similar work on the revolutions of Germany. His reputation was equally great in France likewise, where he was appointed chief librarian to the Emperor Napoleon I. Neither ought we to pass over the name of Antonio Cesari, who labored so long and so successfully to bring back the Italian language to its original purity; or that of Vincenzo Monti, the patriot-poet, beloved by all the learned and honored by Napoleon himself as the most remarkable man of his time; or Silvio Pellico, renowned for the pathetic beauty with which he related the story of his imprisonment in the castle of Spielberg. But the dawn of the nineteenth century saw Italy once more in a state of political convulsion from one end to the other. Napoleon carried his victorious arms from the Alps to the extreme south of Calabria, and all the old political landmarks, as we have already seen, were completely obliterated. But the downfall of the conqueror soon altered this new state of things, and the Congress of Vienna restored all the legitimate sovereigns once again to their respective capitals. Then came the action of the secret societies, the rise of the party of independence, and the renewed struggle against foreign despotism. The middle of the nineteenth century, which shook so many European sovereigns on their thrones, gave opportunity for the national party in Italy once more to erect their banner in the light of day, and enabled them at length, after twenty years' struggle, to secure the unity and independence of the country. During all this time there was little leisure for literary effort, and what there was naturally bore upon it more or less of a political character. Still, men of distinguished ability as writers were not wanting. Rosmini, for example, in addition to his works on biography and history, attempted to introduce the study of mental philosophy into his country, inspired by the renown of the Scottish metaphysical school and its French imitators. Gioberti followed in the same track, though combating many of the philosophical ideas which Rosmini had advocated. But as the age advanced, and the political agitations of the times absorbed the whole attention of the country, he joined himself, though a priest, to the moderate Liberal party, and became the most celebrated political writer of his time. His work, entitled "*Il Primato civile e morale degl' Italiani,*" made an extraordinary impression on the country, advocating as it did a liberal reconstruction of Italian politics on the basis of a reformed Papacy.

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[1] See "*Die italienische Einheitsidee in ihrer litterarischen Entwicklung von Parini bis Manzoni*," by O. Bulle, Berlin, 1893; "Modern Italy," by P. Orsi, ch. xx.

The form of the historical novel (a style of literature hitherto almost unknown in Italy) now appeared as a popular method of advocating political freedom. The most celebrated writer of this class was Alexander Manzoni (born in Milan, 1784). His early literary efforts were chiefly confined to lyrical poetry and the drama, in which latter department he coöperated with Alfieri in restoring the national tragedy to a more perfect form. The work, however, with which his name is more associated, and on which his reputation chiefly rests, is the "*Promessi Sposi,*" where he pictures the life of the Italian people in the seventeenth century under the leaden yoke of the Spanish dominion. Since the appearance of this work the historical novel has become perhaps the most popular form of literary activity in Italy, and a fair amount of success has been achieved by a number of more modern writes. Of these, the two first and foremost are Massimo d'Azeglio and Tommaso Grossi. The "*Ettore Fieromosca*" and "*Niccolo di Lapi*" of the former and the "*Marco Visconti*" of the latter present as perfect specimens of historical romance as can be found in any language of Europe. Gabriele d'Annunzio, born 1862, is one of the best known of present day Italian writers, both of novels and of dramas. Opinion is violently divided as to his merits, but it may safely be said that his plays, even when interpreted by Dusé, have not been a success. His psychological romances are more popular, but, like his plays, are morbid and abnormal. To quote names of authors, for the most part unknown out of their own country, would be useless in so brief a historical sketch as the present. Suffice it to say that Italy, having gained her independence, and being now relieved from political agitation, has already begun to promote the arts of peace and the spread of national education. Schools for the people are being multiplied throughout the country, lyceums and colleges are being reconstructed and developed, and a course of internal improvement set in which we trust may in the course of time raise Italy once more to the highest dignity among the civilized and literary nations of Europe. The essential nature of Italian genius has been and is mainly applied to working out economic and social problems. Of the amazing output of this economic, sociological, and scientific literature it is not our province to treat. Many of its exponents are men of European fame; Lombroso in criminology, Grossi in biology, Lari in economics, Villari in history, are but a few.

Turning to art, we find that the disciples of Michael Angelo carried his severe and classical taste into all parts of the country. Sansavino labored successfully in Venice, and Benvenuto Cellini in Florence, while Guglielmo della Porte became the first artist of his age in Lombardy. But as the first traditions of the school of Michael Angelo passed away, the sculptors of the seventeenth century began to aim at fine and curious execution, rather than classical purity of form and feeling. This new style came into prominence under the influence of Bernini, a Neapolitan of great genius but questionable taste. The style now brought into vogue was the very reverse of that which is seen in the great models of antiquity. In these, the pervading characteristic was simplicity of expression, united with most perfect form. In the age we now refer to, simplicity was the last thing to be aimed at. On the contrary, the composition of the figures was complicated, the action forced, the attitudes more or less affected, the surroundings glittering and tawdry. Many specimens of Bernini's taste are to be seen in St. Peter's at Rome, where the skill shown is undoubtedly very great, and the effects striking, but the whole execution as far as possible removed from the severe simplicity and grandeur of ancient art. The works of succeeding artists only show that the higher traditions of true art were obscured. Throughout the seventeenth century Italy produced almost nothing of superior merit, while the people and patrons of art seemed to have lost all taste for the highest and purest forms of plastic genius.

The honor of bringing back a recognition of the true principles of taste is due in Italy mainly to Canova (born 1757, died 1822). Canova began his career in the studios of some two or three of the best artists in Venice, but in the year 1799 removed to Rome, where he habitually resided during the rest of his life. His first great work, the Dædalus and Icarus, which he exhibited at Rome when only twenty-two years of age, already showed that he had begun to work according to the traditions of the purer style of antiquity; and his subsequent labors brought this style back to such perfection that it heralded a complete revival of artistic taste in the country. His Cupid and Psyche, his group of Hercules and Lycas, his Theseus with the Centaur, and many of his statues of graces and nymphs form some of the principal attractions to the lovers of true art in Italy.

So many artists from France, Germany, Denmark, England, and America, however, have since that time established themselves in Italy, chiefly in Rome and Florence, that the plastic art of Italy has become merged in the general stream of European progress, as shown in the whole artistic development of the nineteenth century.

The revival of the art of sculpture took place in various countries of Europe almost contemporaneously. Not so with painting. This was an art at first almost exclusively Italian, and it was from Italy that its spirit was carried into other countries. The rise of the modern art of painting dates about half a century later than that of sculpture. Nicola of Pisa began his career as a sculptor about the year 1200. Cimabue, who is usually considered to be the first of the great old Italian masters, was born at Florence in the year 1240, and his pupil Giotto in 1276. Hitherto painting had been confined almost exclusively to Scriptural subjects, being in fact hardly more than the expansion, on a large scale, of the Middle Age illuminations usually attached to religious manuscripts. Giotto began to copy from real life, and thus entered upon a career of artistic effort which soon produced marvelous results. The fourteenth century produced a number of painters of the schools of Florence and Siena, who made, indeed, some small advance upon the first masters of the art, but did not originate any new style of execution. But early in the fifteenth century Florence gave rise to a new school of painters, whose works show a marked advance upon their predecessors. Among them we reckon Fra Angelico, Botticelli, and Benozzo Gozzoli. Among the masters of the Florentine school of this age, too, was Ghirlandaio (born 1541), who executed frescos both in the churches of Florence and in the Sistine Chapel at Rome, and has the great distinction of being the master of Michael Angelo. Looking at other parts of Italy, we find Petro Perugino in Perugia; Francia, father and son, in Bologna; Lorenzo Corta at Ferrara; and a number of other artists dispersed through the different large towns, all of whom aided in preparing the way for that wonderful development of artistic genius which characterized the fifteenth century, and which produced Michael Angelo, Leonardo da Vinci, Raphael, Giorgione, and Titian. Of these it may be said that they carried the art of painting to the highest perfection which it has ever attained, that their works are to this day the admiration of the whole civilized world, and that their pictures are models which students of all nations copy as the highest means of self-cultivation and improvement. If we turn now from Rome and Florence to the more northern parts of Italy, we see the fine arts flourishing there also with hardly less vigor and success. The Roman school under Raphael and his pupils had brought beauty of form to its highest perfection; but there were other qualities yet to be developed. Correggio (born near Parma, 1494) discovered the secret of light and shade to a degree hitherto unknown; while the Venetian school, headed by Titian, brought the art of coloring to the highest perfection.

It was under the influence of these varied masters that the school of Bologna (called the Eclectic) arose, in which the attempt was made to combine the excellencies of all the others. This school was headed by Ludovico Caracci and his two nephews, and numbered among its pupils Dominichino and Guido Reni. From this time the glory of the Italian school of art gradually declined. Many great names, indeed, still appear at intervals throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Sasso Ferrato, Carlo Dolci, Salvator Rosa, and Canaletto (uncle and nephew), all attained excellence in their own peculiar style; but as the art of painting attained greater perfection in other countries, the more exclusive claims of Italy as the land of art have naturally disappeared. It would be altogether wrong to conclude from this that artistic talent no longer exists in those places where for so long it reigned almost supreme. Italy still continues to produce sculptors and painters who can compare without disadvantage with those of England, France, and Germany; and not only this, but to whatever height of excellence art may attain in these latter countries, it must always be conceded that Italy has been the school in which they have studied, and without which, in all human probability, such excellence would never have been reached.

We must not conclude this short notice of Italian art without referring to the subject of Italian music, which is one of Italy's chief glories to-day. Like painting and sculpture, music was first used as an aid to the offices of religion in the churches. Archbishop Ambrose of Milan, in the fourth century, is said to have borrowed sacred hymns and chants from the East, and introduced them into the services of the Western Church. However this may be, certain it is that Gregory I., in the seventh century, made a great improvement in the ordinary musical notation, and introduced the kind of chant which has borne his name down to the present day. As yet, however, harmony was not invented. The songs and chants then in vogue, whether secular or sacred, were all sung in unison, either with or without simple instrumental accompaniments. In the tenth century, however, the use of harmony began to be introduced. We cannot say, indeed, that it was an Italian invention, since the elements of harmony were known and practiced in France and Germany before this time, and it seems probable that they were first introduced into Italy from those countries. By the middle of the sixteenth century both the science and art of music had made great progress. One of the earliest composers in Italy was Palestrina (born 1524, died 1594). Born in the town of that name, he was sent to Rome as chorister, and studied music under Claude Goudimel, a Dutch musician established in that city. Palestrina, in consequence of his great reputation as a musician, was employed by the cardinals to compose some masses to replace the wretched compositions then ordinarily heard in the Italian churches. These masses, three in number, attained the highest reputation, and came to be sung in all the best churches in Rome. His "*Stabat Mater,*" for eight voices, is sung in the Sistine Chapel every year to the present day.

About the beginning of the seventeenth century a new form of music began to make its appearance in several of the larger towns, assuming a somewhat dramatic character. Mystery plays, oratorios, and sacred concerts adapted to the Italian character began to be performed, in which solo, recitative, and dramatic melodies were sung with instrumental accompaniments. One of the most celebrated composers in this branch of musical performance was Alexander Scarlatti, born in Naples in 1658. He is said to have written two hundred masses, but his chief reputation rests upon his efforts in the composition of operas. In order to introduce the Italian opera into Germany, he was appointed in 1680 as composer to the court of Bavaria. His great opera, "*La Principessa Fidele,*" is even now regarded as a master work of the time. From this period forward Venice and Naples became the chief supporters of the opera, and a number of musicians arose who, encouraged by the popularity of operatic music, labored to improve and develop it. Among these should be mentioned especially Pergolese (born 1710), Jomelli (born 1714), and Cimarosa (born 1755). All these distinguished themselves first of all in the composition of ecclesiastical music, which is held in reputation in the present day. But they also devoted their genius to the improvement of operatic music, which under their hands arrived at a very considerable degree of perfection. Thus, then, this new nursling of Italy, the opera, began to grow up to maturity, caressed and admired both at home and abroad. At length a musician arose who brought the opera to its highest perfection, namely, Rossini. Rossini was born at Pesaro, in the Romagna, in the year 1792. His father was a strolling musician, his mother a singer in any of the small theaters where she could get a temporary appointment. Rossini himself, when a boy, sang with his mother in the theaters of Bologna, and seems to have derived his first musical inspirations from this source. He never attended any proper school of music, or enjoyed any education of a scientific kind, but appears to have educated himself by reading and performing the works of the best composers of the age. He began to compose at sixteen years of age, and between the years 1808 and 1829 he wrote forty operas, among which are "*Tancredi*," "*Il Barbiere di Siviglia*," "*Otello*," "*Mose in Egitto*," "*La Gazza Ladra*," "*Semiramide*," and "*Guillaume Tell*." The opera, being thus brought to its most perfect form, called forth the energies and efforts of many young Italian musicians. Among these we must especially mention Bellini, born at Catania, in Sicily, in 1802, to whom we owe "*Norma*," the "*Sonnambula*," and the "*Puritani*"; and Donizetti, native of Bergamo. Donizetti devoted himself first to church music, but finding that he acquired but little fame and less money in this sphere, he turned to the composition of operatic music, and produced, among other renowned operas, the "*Lucia di Lammermoor*," "*La Figlia del Regimento*," and "*L'Elisire d'Amore*." Bellini died in 1835 and Donizetti in 1848. Since that time Verdi, who was born in 1813 and died in 1901, has been the foremost Italian composer, scoring great successes with "*Ernani*," "*Rigoletto*," "*Trovatore*," "*Traviata*," "*Aïda*," and "*Otello*." Pietro Mascagni, born in 1863, is well and favorably known to-day. France and Germany have both learned to compete with Italy in this special department; so that the opera, though cradled in Italy, has become, in its manhood, altogether European.

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The object of this bibliography is to offer to the reader a list of some of the standard books on the period covered by this volume. In most cases a word or two of comment is subjoined in order to facilitate a course of more detailed reading. A chronological arrangement has seemed best, with one or two exceptions, for topics of particular importance, as the Papacy. For so extended a period, the amount of literature is, of course, vast, and those wishing a more detailed bibliography are referred to books dealing with restricted periods within the larger one treated in this history.

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It comprises the whole history of Italy to 1859. Cantu is interesting and suggestive, but is manifestly a Republican and a Roman Catholic. He lays his chief stress on the habits and institutions of the people rather than on external facts. The author has written a considerable amount on Italian history and has a fair reputation.

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These volumes are the work of authors whose labors in the field of art have given them the right to speak with accepted authority. While long and technical, they furnish a mine of information, and an unusually good index makes the contents easily accessible. The general value of the work is much increased by full illustrative notes and many excellent engravings.

MODERN ITALY (THE "RISORGIMENTO")

Cantu, C.—"*Della Indipendenza Italiana*" ("*Cronistoria*"). Turin, 1872-1877. 3 vols., 5 parts.

Cantu has many excellent characteristics as a historian, but his quotations should always be accepted with caution.

Cavour, Count C. di.—"*Lettere Edite ed Inedite, Raccolte ed Illustrate da S. Chiala*" (1820-1861). Turin, 1861.

See also C. de Mazade, "*Le Comte de Cavour, étude de politique nationale et parlementaire.*" Paris, 1877. Perhaps the most discriminating of the accounts of Italy's great statesman.

D'Azeglio, M.—"*Scritti Politici e Letterarie, preceduti da uno studio sull' autore, di M. Tabarrini.*" Florence, 1872.

Garibaldi, G.—"*I Mille.*" Bologna, 1874. "*Memoire Autobiograficke.*" Florence, 1888. (Tr. by Werner.) London, 1889.

The Memoirs are disappointing, and the book has not great value, though unavoidably interesting.

King, B.—"The History of Italian Unity." (1814-1870.) New York, 1899. 2 vols.

One of the latest books to be added to the already very extended number on this subject, and one of the best.

Marriott, J. A. R.—"The Makers of Modern Italy." (Mazzini, Cavour, Garibaldi.) London, 1901.

An admirable little work, which gives in 78 pages clear-cut glimpses of the Risorgimento.

Mazzini, G.—"Life and Writings." London, 1864-1870. 6 vols.

Partly autobiographical. Of value for the period in general, and especially for an understanding of the author himself, the promoter of *Giovome Italia* and one of the chief figures in the making of Italy.

Orsi, P.—"Modern Italy." (1748-1898.) (Trans.) London, 1899.

The years 1748-1815 are covered in the first three chapters, and this introduction is useful for the casual reader interested in the Risorgimento. At the same time both the method and the style lack clearness, and the book as a whole is somewhat superficial.

Reuchlin, H.—"*Geschichte Italiens von Gründung der regierenden Dynastien bis auf die Gegenwart.*" Leipsic, 1859-1873. 4 vols.

Painstaking and well-informed. Volumes I. and II. deal chiefly with the period 1789-1848, volumes III. and IV. covering the years from 1848-1870. It is one of the very best works on the Risorgimento as a whole.

Stillman, W. J.—"The Union of Italy." (1815-1895.) London, 1898. (With a Bibliography.)

The best popular book on the Risorgimento. The author lived for years in Italy and knew many of the principal actors in the events of the time. It is, however, unduly pessimistic in tone as to the future of Italy.

Thayer, W. R.—"The Dawn of Italian Independence." (1814-1849.) Boston, 1893. 2 vols.

Excellent for its limited period.

Tivaroni, C.—"*L'Italia durante il domino austriaco.*" (1815-1849.) Turin, Rome, 1892. 3 vols.

A good book for the general reader and may well be compared with Thayer's book. It has valuable references.

Arrivabene, C.—"Italy under Victor Emmanuel," 1859-1862. London, 1862. 2 vols.

The author was present in the campaigns as a correspondent of the *Daily News* (London). A most interesting book on the period of the most intense struggle of the Risorgimento.

Zeller, J.—"*Pie IX. et Victor Emmanuel.*" (1846-1878.) Paris, 1879.

A good sketch of these two men and of the events in which they were concerned.

Other works are referred to in the text or in footnotes.

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